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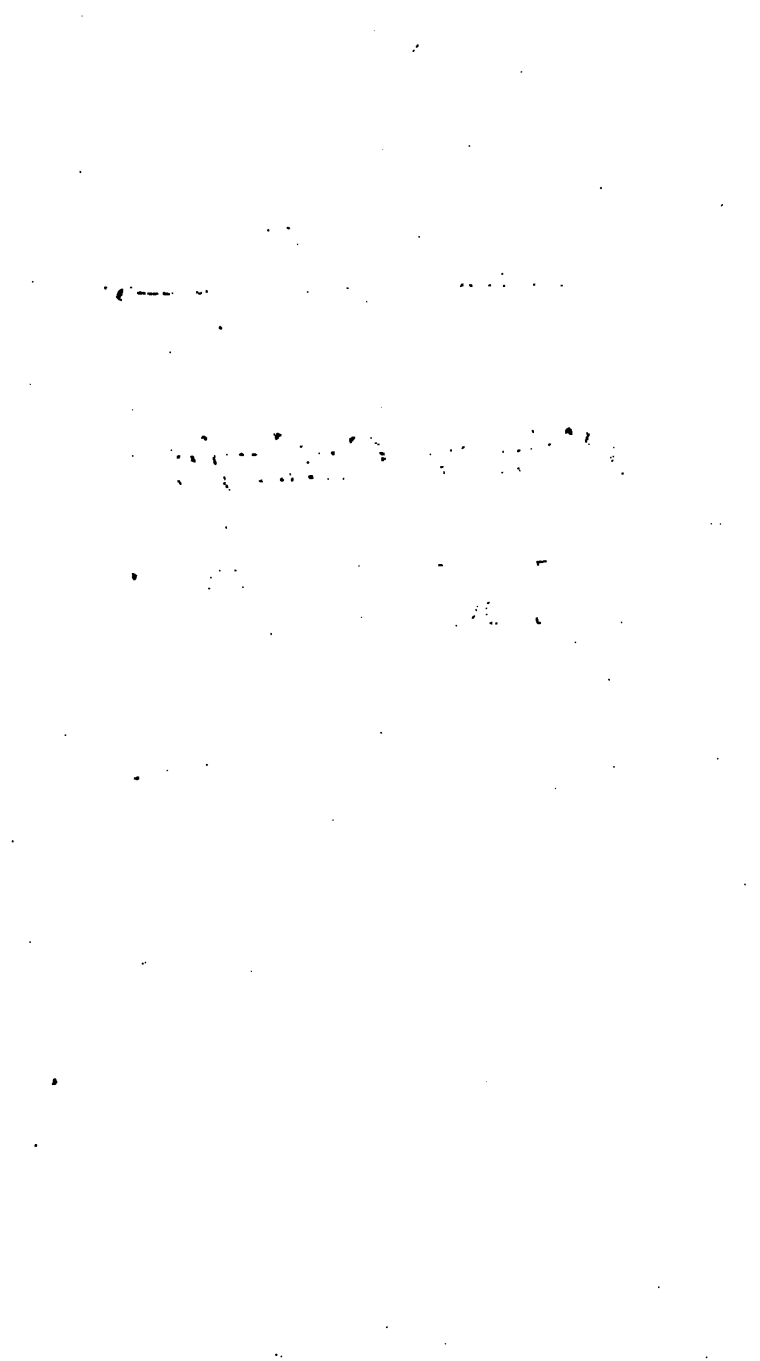
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Bishop *Guthry's*
MEMOIRS.



MEMOIRS

OF

HENRY GUTHRY,

Late Bishop of *Dunkel*,

IN

SCOTLAND:

Wherein the

Conspiracies and Rebellion

AGAINST

King *CHARLES I.*

Of Blessed Memory,

TO THE

Time of the *Murther* of that Monarch,

Are briefly and faithfully related.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *W. B.* and sold by *J. Nutt*, near
Stationers-Hall. 1702.

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THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

THE Author of These Memoirs was not only contemporary with the Transactions and Things which He relates, and

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The PREFACE

familiarly and intimately acquainted with the Chief Contrivers and Executors of Them ; but was likewise a Member both of the General Assembly, and of the Commission of the Kirk, during the whole Time in which They were contrived and carried on ; Whereupon it must be acknowledged , That He was Master of all the Means and Advantages of penetrating into the Secret and Mystery of Them.

And that He hath , with the Integrity that became an Historian, so recorded and endeavoured to transmit to Posterity Matters of Fact, with the Occasions , Motives and Causes of their Commencement ; together with an Account of the Principles and Ends, in order to which , They were undertaken and supported ; as to deserve a very distinguishing and singular Credit , to be given to what-

TO the READER.

whatsoever He says, that is Historical and not meerly Conjectural; may not only be allowed on the score of the Character He bore in the Church, and of the Piety and Sanctity with which He lived and died; but it doth plainly appear by the Air of Truth and Sincerity with which He writes; and from His frequent owning wherein Himself, as well as many of the best Friends and most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects of King CHARLES the First, of ever Blessed Memory, were Accessary to and involv'd in the Guilt of Rebellion against that MONARCH.

Whereupon, as divers, even of those who had been deeply embark'd in the Traiterous Conspiracies and Facts here discovered and related, have (on their perusal of These Memoirs, of which there are many Copies

THE PREFACE

pies in Manuscript) given their Testimonies to the Veracity, Candour and Impartiality of the Author, in what He hath left behind Him concerning Them ; so the getting Them communicated to the World, hath not only been earnestly solicited and desired, but the withholding Them so long from the Publick, hath been very much complained of and censured.

And on whatsoever Inducements it hath been hitherto thought convenient to keep Them dormant, yet since the Publication of the History written by the Right Honourable the late Earl of Clarendon, all those Motives for concealing and suppressing Them, are now no longer of any force, but are rather Arguments for printing Them, as soon as possible.

Seeing

TO the READER.

Seeing as no Reflections made in These Papers on the Conduct, Reputation and Memories of any, can either more diminish or detract from their Great and Honourable Fame, than is done already by the Strictures left by the fore-mentioned Peer, in His History of the Affairs of that Time, and of the Persons concerned in Them, which will be of high Estimation and Value, as long as Mankind have any Love for Language and Character : So it will be a Service, rather than an Injury to such as are gone off the Stage, that the Worst, which had been either thought or said in Relation to Them, and the Parts They acted, should be divulged and made Publick, while there are yet those in Being, who are animated with Zeal, and in the Possession of Means, for vindicating Them from all that may be found unfair
Im-

The PREFACE

Imputations on their Councils and Carriages.

Nor doth the Editor of the ensuing Papers judge it needful to prefix any Thing more to Them, save to assure the Reader, That as what is here published is from an Authentick Copy, and without the least Addition, or Interpolation, and not with the Insincerity and foul Practice used by the Editor of Mr. Rushworth's Second and Third Volumes of Historical Collections, even in the Life-time of that Gentleman, as well as by most other Persons, both before and since his time, who have published Books for the Republican Party; so he doubteth not, but that those who will vouchsafe to peruse These Memoirs, will, among other Things, which it will be of Advantage unto them to be made acquainted with, have such a
View

TO the READER.

View given them of a certain Set of Ecclesiasticks, as ought to caution those vested with Civil Authority and Power, how little their Professions of Fealty and Secular Obedience, are to be relied upon. Being a Faction that can suborn and press Religion against Monarchs; and unless carefully over-looked in the Management of their Spiritual Dispensary, are ready to infuse the Poison of Sedition and Disloyalty into the Doctrines and Articles of the Christian Religion. And who of all Men, are best instructed in administering their malignant Preparations, in the Vehicles of Seeming Sanctity, and Pretended Zeal for the Glory of GOD, and for the Sovereignty of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

For

The PREFACE

*For notwithstanding their clamorous
Declamations against the Church and
Court of Rome ; yet by the Expo-
sition they have given of the Gospel,
for ordaining a Ministry, and con-
stituting a Government in the Kirk,
distinct from that of the State, and
the Officers thereof ; they have
been aspiring after little less Inde-
pendency upon and Absoluteness over
Monarchs, and Political Laws, than
the Roman Pontiff in Virtue of
his Claim of Supremacy, and of an
unlimited Power settled on him in
ordine ad spiritualia, hath exercised
over the Princes of the Earth.*

*And whensoever their Strength hath
been proportionable to their Inclina-
tion, they have under the fair and
specious Pretences of asserting the
Royal Rights and Jurisdiction Pow-
ers of our Blessed Redeemer, decla-
red themselves for the Binding Kings
† in*

TO the READER.

in Chains, and their Nobles with
Links of Iron.

*Whereof These Memoirs will af-
ford such undeniable Instances as are
beyond the Acrimony of Satyr.*

Though the *ERRATA* are neither so many nor so great, but that an ordinary Reader may easily amend Them, yet to ease him of that Trouble, the chiefest of Them are here corrected to his Hand.

PAg. 4. Lin. 12. del. *and*; p. 33. l. 11. r. *came*; in several Places instead of *Landore* r. *London*; p. 97. l. 18. r. *Pym*. p. 103. l. 23. r. *Maitland*; p. 112. l. 25. r. *at*; p. 131. l. 20. r. *Laird*; p. 146. l. 22. r. *Laird*; p. 152. l. 30. r. *Covenanters*; p. 157. l. 19. r. *write*; p. 179. l. 32. r. *Transportation*; p. 194. l. 9. del. the last *and*; *ibid.* l. 32, 33. r. *being*; p. 195. l. 18. r. *Minister*; p. 198. l. 9. r. *Huntley*; p. 243. l. 1. r. *Earl*.

Obfer-

*Observations upon the Rise and Progress
of the late Rebellion against King
Charles the First, in so far as it
was carried on by a Malecontented
Faction in Scotland, under the Pre-
text of Reformation.*

THE Reformation of Religion in Scotland taking effect in the Year 1560, Mr. Knox, and the rest of the Ministers, together with the Lords of the Congregation, (so were the Reformers call'd) founded the Government of the Church in a moderate imparity, for how soon they appointed Ministers to paticular Stations, withal they constituted Superintendents to Govern in their respective Provinces, to whom the Power was given to ordain Ministers, to preside in Synods, and to direct Church Censures.

After this Model was the Church govern'd in the Infancy of it, with a well ballanc'd Harmony among Church Men, and a general Liking from the People, notwithstanding of very great Troubles which at that time fell out in the State.

Afterwards, in the Year 1571, a General Assembly being in time of Parliament conven'd at *Sterling*, some of the Meeting propounded, that things could not always continue in that State. For the

B

Super-

Superintendents being Old, and divers of them Serving upon their own Charges, it was not to be expected that others, when they were gone, would undergo that Burden, and therefore wish'd that the Lord Regent and the Estates of Parliament should be dealt with, for establishing a constant Form of Church Government; for which Effect Commission was given to the Superintendents of *Angus, Fife, and Lothian*, and with them to Mr. *David Lindsey*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *John Row*, Mr. *George Hay*, to Solicit the Parliament; but the Slaughter of the Regent by the Lord *Huntley*, *Claud Hamleton*, and their Adherents, which fell out upon the Third of *September*, did put a Demur to the Business until *January* next, at which time the General Assembly being met at *Leith*, those Commissioners press'd the Earl of *Marr*, then Lord Regent, and his Council, for settling a constant Policy in the Church, whereupon it was agreed, that six of the Council, and as many of the Assembly, should be set apart, to Treat; Reason, and Conclude upon the Business; for the Council were Nominated *James* Earl of *Morton* Chancellor, *William* Lord *Ruthven* Treasurer, *Robert* Abbot of *Dumfermling* Secretary, Mr. *James Mac Gill* Clerk Register, Sir *John Ballantine* Justice Clerk, and *Collin Campbell* of *Glenuricart*; and for the Church, the Superintendents of *Angus*, and *Fife*, and with them Mr. *David Lindsey*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, and Mr. *Thomas Craigge*. Those twelve, after divers Meetings and Consultations, agreed upon certain Conclusions, whereof the principal were, That the Church should be Govern'd by Archbishops and Bishops, and the Election should be made by the Deans and Chapters.

These

These Conclusions being reported to the General Assembly, met at *Perth* in *August* 1572, some of the Ministry were displeased, and made a kind of Protestation against the same.

Yet notwithstanding thereof the Course went on, and so Mr. *John Douglas* was provided to the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrews*, Mr. *James Boyd* to the Archbishoprick of *Glasgow*, Mr. *John Paton* to the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Andrew Graham* to the Bishoprick of *Dumblain*.

These Doings were grievous to divers of the Ministry, who contended for a parity in Church Government, whereunto e're long they were much more encouraged, by the return of Mr. *Andrew Melvill* from *Geneva*, who coming Home in the Year 1575, gave them such a Character of the *Presbyterian* Discipline exercised there, as not only confirmed them who already favour'd it, but also gain'd so far upon others, that shortly thereafter the most part of Ministers turn'd *Presbyterians*, and in an Assembly at *Dundee* 1580, condemn'd Episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God.

Whereupon, (King *James* having before that time assum'd in his own Person the Government of the Kingdom) Debates arose for many Years betwixt His Majesty and the Ministers upon that Account, the King still pressing Episcopal Government, and they on the other part contending for the *Presbyterian* way.

So that at length the Controversie rose to that height, that some of the Ministers chose rather to hazard a War, than to suffer the Discipline to be born down. Whereupon in the Year 1584, the Parliament then sitting at *Edinburgh*, having made, and publish'd at the Market Cross, an Act

which inroached upon it; Mr. *Walter Ballingall* and Mr. *James Lowson*, Ministers of *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *Robert Pont*, Minister of *St. Andrews*, (who was also a Senator) after some Protestations emitted by them, went to *Berwick*, and from thence to *Newcastle*, and there join'd the Banish'd Lords, making one Common Cause of it, whereof the Sequel was, that the Year following the Banish'd Lords, and those Ministers with them, (except Mr. *Lowson*, who died in *England*) enter'd into the Kingdom, and with an Army, which they made up in the South parts thereof, and advanced straight towards *Sterling*, where the King was for the time, attended by an Army, which upon the noise of their approach, he had call'd together, under the Command of Sir *James Haliburton*, Tutor of *Pitcure*, a Famous Warriour; and what Blood and Mischief might this Attempt have caus'd, if the King in his great Wisdom had not prevented the same, by affording them a Treaty, which upon the Fifth of *November* 1585, resolv'd in Peace, and made a way for *Presbyterian* Government in the Church, which at last was establish'd by Law in the Year 1592.

And if the Ministers had thereafter kept within Bounds, it may be that Wise King would have debated no more with them upon that Account; but their Actings made his Majesty soon repent of his Condescension, and admit thoughts of restoring Episcopacy again, which they on the other part perceiving, strove to strengthen their own Interest, and to frustrate his Design, whereby new Debates arising, grew to that height, that in the Year 1596, some Noble Men, Barons, and Ministers, being assembled in *Edinburg*, and conceiving that the Process laid against Mr. *David Black*,
wrong'd

wrong'd the Privileges of their Discipline, and withal being displeas'd with the Clemency shew'd to the Popish Lords, they, for those Reasons, and other Emergents, went to work again, and that so avowedly, that they pitch'd upon my Lord *Hamleton* to be their Head, and sent him a Letter subscrib'd by Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and Mr. *Walter Balcanquall*, to come with diligence and accept the Charge.

But the sad effects which this Enterprize might have produced, were prevented by the Fury of the Multitude that attended upon their Meeting, who, heated by some unhappy Expressions utter'd by my Lord *Lindsey*, had not the patience to wait upon their Generals coming, but presently, and without any Consultation, or allowance of the better sort, leap'd to their Arms, came to the Street in great numbers, crying, *The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon, it shall be either theirs or ours*: And taking their March straight towards the *Sessions House*, where the King and his Council were for the time, would in all probability have forc'd the Doors, which upon the noise of the Tumult were shut, and done Mischief, at least to those call'd *Olavians*, whom they blam'd for all, had it not been, that by the Providence of GOD, a Loyal Party, drawn together by the Deacon of the Trades, kept them back for a space, until their Fever cool'd a little; and that in the mean time the Earl of *Marr*, from the Castle sent a Company of Musqueteers, to guard the King's Person, which his Lieutenant quickly brought down the *Castle Bank* to the *Grass Market*, and from thence march'd afterwards to the foot of *Forresters Wind*, which they ascended, and entring by the back Stairs, came where the

King was; after which the King commanded to open the Doors, and advance to the Street; upon notice whereof, at the intreaty of Sir *Alexander Hume*, Provost, the Multitude chose to disband, and went away as confusedly as they met, whereby the King and his Attendants had a sure way to go without Hazard or Affront, down the Street to his Palace of *Halyrood House*, from whence the next Morning he removed to *Lithgoe*.

• *Wicked or
Rebellious*

This * *Meschant* Business, (call'd in way of Detestation even unto this time the 17th. day of *December*) gave the Ministers Affairs such a Blow, that during King *James's* Reign they were never able to make it up again, for it was esteem'd so illegal in the Attempt, and prov'd so foolish in the Conduct, that thereafter Noble Men were not inclinable to espouse their Quarrel, and without them it was well known they could effectuate nothing; and so it came to pass, that without difficulty, the King carried through his Design, and Episcopal Government was establish'd by Law, and that not without the consent and furtherance of many of the Wifest among the Ministry, whom experience had taught to see a necessity of having Bishops set up, to curb the Humors of some Preachers, especially the younger sort, whose out-breakings against Authority, both in their Pulpits and Meetings, were very offensive.

This Establishment of Episcopal Government taking effect shortly after His Majesties settling upon his Throne of *England*, was the more comfortable to him, that thereby he gain'd an Uniformity in Government betwixt the Churches of the two Nations, which being achiev'd, his Majesty went on to press that there might be an Uniformity

mity also in Worship betwixt them, for which end he recommended to the Bishops the Introduction of some *English* Customs into this Church; as, 1st. The Gesture of Kneeling, to be used at the receiving the Holy Communion. 2^{dly}. In the Case of Necessity, Baptism to be privately administered. 3^{dly}. Private Communion in the like Case. 4^{thly}. Confirmation of Children. And 5^{thly}. A Religious Observation of the Days of Our Blessed Saviour's Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

These Articles being debated in the General Assembly at St. *Andrews* 1617, were afterwards concluded in the General Assembly at *Perth* 1618, and at last in the Year 1621 ratify'd by Parliament.

The King press'd also about that time that a Liturgy should be fram'd for this Church after the Model of the *English*, which, tho' the Bishops relish'd well, yet they wav'd the Motion during his Reign, for reasons best known to themselves.

The Ministers of the contrary Judgment still retain'd the old Principles, and being able to do no more for that time, kept life in the Cause, by presenting to the several Parliaments their Protestations against the things that were done.

And at length, when, by the Death of that Renown'd King *James VI.* *Charles I.* came to sit upon the Throne, they resolv'd upon Application to his Majesty for * *remed*, and pitch'd * *Relief* upon Mr. *Robert Scot*, Minister of *Glasgow*, to go up and present the Supplication; but at his return they found nothing was to be expected that way, but that King *Charles* was resolv'd to maintain the Government which his Royal Father had establish'd.

This put them to other Thoughts, yet in their Carriage nothing appear'd, whereby Men could conjecture that which afterwards came to pass, for their Deportment favour'd of Gravity and Meekness, neither acted they any thing which was much taken notice of, until the Year 1633, that the King came Home to *Scotland*.

Only in the mean time they labour'd to increase the number of their *Profelytes* every where, and that not without success, especially in *Fife*, and in the Western parts.

Whereunto a way, which they then begun, prov'd very conducive, and this it was: They kept sometimes every Year a Fast in every Kirk throughout the Kingdom, where the Ministers were of their Stamp, (*viz.*) upon the first Sabbath of every Quarter, whereof there was no publick intimation, save, that the Ministers did privately desire so many of their Flock, as from time to time they could draw over to their Party, to join in it; and upon those Days of Fasting, they used in their Doctrine to hint at the danger of Religion by Prelacy, and the Dependencies thereof, and in their Prayer to supplicate for Remedy, with a Blessing upon all good Means which Providence should afford for that end; by which Course they prevail'd much upon the Commons,

But that which advantaged them more, was the turning of certain Noble Men to their side; for besides that the generality of the Nobility was malecontented, there were by this time observ'd to be avow'd owners of their Interest, in *Fife* the Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Lindsey*, in *Lothian* the Earls of *Lothian* and *Balmorano*, and in the West the Earls of *Cassells* and *Eglington*, and Lord *Loudon*, which accession rendred them very considerable.

Where-

Whereupon, when the King came to *Scotland*, in the Year 1633, to hold his first Parliament, they resolv'd upon a Petition to his Majesty and Parliament, for Redress of all their Grievances, and the same being subscrib'd with their Hands, was committed to the Earl of *Rothes*, to the end, that before it were deliver'd to the Clerk Register, (to whom it belong'd to receive Petitions) his Lordship might first acquaint the King with it in private.

For which end, upon the day that the King made his Entry into *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Rothes* went timely in the Morning to *Dalkieth*, and imparted the business to the King, but his Majesty having read the Petition, restor'd it to *Rothes*, saying, *No more of this, my Lord, I Command you*; which *Rothes* having at his return communicated to the rest, they concluded to suppress the Petition, and so nothing more was heard anent it, until the next Year, that my Lord *Balmiranoche* was brought upon the Stage for it, which was upon this occasion.

One Mr. *John Denmure*, a Writer in *Dundee*, being with my Lord *Balmiranoche* at his House of *Barnton*, my Lord was pleas'd to discourse with him of the Corruptions which were in Church and State, laying them out to the full, whereunto Mr. *John* reply'd, *That it was a pity that such as knew those things did not represent them to the King, while he was here in (Scotland) in the Country*; to whom *Balmiranoche* answer'd, *That they purpos'd to have done it, and had a Petition sign'd for that end, which the Earl of Rothes having shew'd him, he commanded that there should be no more of it, whereupon it was suppress'd, adding wishal, That the framing of the Petition having been*

were in high Places already, were not without Jealousies, that they intended their Fall.

Of the former sort was *Archibald*, Lord of *Lorn*, (a Man very considerable both for Power and Parts, and at that time generally below'd) the reason of whose turning against the Bishops was judg'd by wise Men, to be, that the Office of High Chancellor happening to become vacant in the Year 1635, by the death of *George* Earl of *Kinowle*, (a worthy States-Man) the Lord *Lorn* dealt for it; but the King having lately done great things to him, (by bringing the Bargain of *Kintyre* into his Hands, and by giving him an hereditary Right of the Justiciary of the Isles, and also a large Sum of present Money for his better Subsistence) his Majesty was not pleas'd to be further press'd by him; and so conferr'd the Office of Chancellor upon the Arch bishop of *St. Andrews*; which disappointment irritated *Lorn* against the Bishops, whom he blam'd for the same. The like was talk'd concerning some others, who had formerly turn'd that way, and I know well there was ground for it, yet because the same is not so generally understood as this which I have instanc'd, therefore I forbear to condescend.

And upon the other account it was, that *John*, Earl of *Traquair*, High Treasurer, (under profession of Friendship enough to the Bishops) had under-hand dealing with their Adversaries, for he conceiv'd a Jealousie, (and many thought not without cause) that the Bishops intended his Fall, to the end *Mr. John Maxwell*, Bishop of *Ross*, might be made Treasurer, and therefore in a cover'd way he did what he could to supplant them.

Neither were there wanting in the Court, at the King's own Elbow, divers, who for the ill will they

they carry'd to the Bishops, favour'd that way, whose Names I spare till afterwards, that I come to make account of their Actings.

And withal, their Adversaries had for a long time entertain'd at *London* one Mr. *Eleazer Borthwick*, (a Man well travell'd, and fit for such work) transacting with Nonconformists there, to have Thoughts of attempting something for Reformation in that Church, how soon the work should begin here, the said Mr. *Borthwick* return'd in *February 1637*, and made them an account of his success, which being to their Mind, did much encourage them.

They had also Correspondence with the *Scottish* Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, for making some stickling there, wherein they were not deficient, and so as at length, (knowing what was upon the Wheel here) they * *wax'd* so * *grew* tumultuous against the Order of that Church, as made their Bishops to turn them out; whereupon they came over to *Scotland*, with a great noise of the Persecution they had met with, and were look'd upon by their Friends here as so many Martyrs, so that care was taken for their Shelter and Subsistence in the West, until the Revolution which ensued, that Places were emptied for them.

The Adversaries had also other Advantages of them, as first, want of Harmony amongst the Bishops, by reason that the Younger, (who in Wisdom and Experience were far short of the Elder) yet were no ways observant of them, which came to pass upon this occasion; it had been King *James's* Custom when a Bishoprick fell void, to appoint the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* to convene the rest, and name three or four well qualify'd,
so

so that there could not be an Error in the Choice, and then out of that List that King pitch'd upon one, whom he preferr'd; whereby it came to pass, that during his time most able Men were advanc'd, as, *Mr. William Cooper to Galloway, Mr. Adam Ballantine to Dumblain, Patrick Forbes of Corse to Aberdeen, Mr. David Lindsey to Brichen, and Mr. John Gubrey to Murray.*

But King *Charles* follow'd another way, and without any Consultation had with the
 * Interest Bishops, preferr'd Men by * *Moyen* at Court; so upon *Buckingham's* Commendation *Dr. Lesley* was made Bishop of the Isles, and at the Intreaty of *James Maxwell* of the Bed-Chamber, *Mr. John Maxwell* made Bishop of *Ross*, and by the Archbishop of
 * means *Canterbury's* * *Moyen* *Mr. Thomas Sydeserfe* was made Bishop of *Brichen*, and *Dr. Wedderburne* Bishop of *Dumblain*; and when *Sydeserfe* was remov'd from *Brichen* to *Galloway*, *Mr. Walter Whitford* was made Bishop of *Brichen*, by the *Moyen* of the Earl of *Sterling*, the Secretary of *Scotland*.

Now among these late Bishops whom King *Charles* preferr'd, none were generally esteem'd gifted for the Office, except Bishop *Maxwell*, of whom it cannot be deny'd, but he was a Man of great Parts, but the Mischief was, they were accompany'd with unbounded Ambition; for it did not content him to be a Lord of the Secret Council (as were the rest) but he behov'd also to be a Lord of the Exchequer, and a Lord of the Session Extraordinary, and at last to be Lord High Treasurer, which prov'd fatal to them all.

Thus the Young Bishops, not having been beholding to the Old Bishops for their Preferment,
 for

for that cause they depended not upon them, but kept a Fellowship among themselves apart, and happening to gain an intimacy with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, caus'd him to procure from the King, Power to himself to prescribe things to the Old Bishops, which they did not well relish.

Another Advantage the Adversaries had, was the Discontent which daily increas'd among the Ministry, because of the Bishops too much slighting of them, yet was not this to be imputed to the Old Bishops, who were prudent and humble Men, and gave Respect to all honest and deserving Ministers as their Brethren; but it was the Fault only of the Younger Bishops, who indeed carry'd themselves so loftily, that Ministers signify'd little in their reckoning.

And the *Third* was the most fatal of all, and this was the States-Men's Treachery towards them, for when they, who in his Majesty's absence should underprop them, do undermine them, it is ominous; yet so was it then, albeit all profess'd for them, yet under-board most of them wrought against them, being partly led on by the Treasurer, and partly irritated by the Younger Bishops Pride, and their too much meddling in State Affairs.

Now things being in this posture, Providence afforded the fairest occasion their Adversaries could have wish'd, for appearing in Action against them, and this it was: The King at his coming to *Scotland* in the Year 1633, had brought with him Dr. *Laud*, then Bishop of *London*, shortly after Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (one who had much Power with his Majesty, but was generally hated by the People) he beholding our Form of Worship,
did

did (in Conference with our Bishops, and others of the Clergy) tax the nakedness thereof in divers respects, but chiefly for our want of a Liturgy, whereby he thought all might be help'd; the Old Bishops reply'd, *That in King James's time there had been a Motion made for it, but that the presenting thereof was deferr'd, in regard the Articles of Perth, then introduc'd, prov'd so unwelcome to the People, that they thought it not fit nor safe, at that time to venture upon any farther Innovations, and they were not yet without some fear, that if it should be gone about, the Consequence thereof might be very sad; but Bishop Maxwell, and with him Mr. Thomas Sydeserfe, (who was then but a Candidate) and Mr. Mitchel, and others, press'd hard that it might be, assuring that there was no kind of danger in it; whereupon Bishop Laud, (who spake as he would have it) moving the King to declare it to be his Will, that there should be a Liturgy in this Church, his Majesty commanded the Bishops to go about the Forming of it.*

How soon this came to be nois'd, the perfecting of the Frame was not more wish'd by the Episcopal Men, than by those of the contrary Judgment, albeit, upon different accounts; the former to express their acquiescence in the King's Will, or (possibly) thinking it a Good to the Church; but the others presum'd, (wherein they were not mistaken) that the noise of it would startle the whole Nation, so as to render them inclinable to engage in a War for opposing it, which they thought might readily infer the Extermination of Episcopacy, with all the Dependencies of it.

The Bishops in the mean while were busie about the Work, and at length, towards the end of the Year

Year 1635 compleated it, after which nothing wanted, but to get it authoriz'd, and so made practicable.

Which while they were about to do, there arose a Clamour against them, (which upon the sudden spread throughout the whole Land) that Religion was undermin'd by a Conspiracy betwixt the Bishop of *Canterbury* and other Bishops, and that they, (being suborn'd by him) were bringing in the Mass-Book. This wrought so upon People every where, that all Men concluded there was no way to eschew a publick Rupture, but to suppress the Book; and indeed the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, with the wisest of his Brethren, laid it to Heart, and wrote to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to deal with the King, that the Book might be kept back, till the Nation were better prepared to receive it; which possibly would have been hearken'd unto, if our Bishops had been harmonious anent it; but those among them who had been lately preferr'd (being hot Blooded, and wanting somewhat of the Experience which the Elder sort had) went not along with them, but comply'd with the Treasurer's Opinion that the work should go on: Concerning which, the Treasurer having gotten some Lines under their Hands to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, his Lordship posted away to Court, and there suggested to *Canterbury*, that there was no danger to be apprehended, only the Old Bishops were timorous Men, and fear'd where no cause of fear was; in token whereof, if his Grace would move the King to lay his Commands upon him, he should, upon his Life, carry through the Business, without any stir. *Canterbury* (being ignorant that the Treasurer's Zeal for promoting the work, was to ruin the Bishops,

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especially he having brought him Letters from those amongst them with whom he corresponded (most) was so affected with the Treasurer's Speeches, that albeit he thought not fit that a work of that nature should be committed to a Layick, yet procur'd to himself a Warrant from the King, to command the Bishops (upon all Hazards) to go forward in it; threatning them withal, that if they lingred in it longer, the King would turn them out of their Places, and fill the same with vigorous and resolute Men, who would not be afraid to do him Service.

The Bishops, having at the Treasurer's return received this peremptory Command, were not all alike well pleased; the younger Bishops were overjoyed, and esteemed the Treasurer their best Friend, who had obtained the thing they desired; but the wise old Bishops were of another Mind, and thought more than they spake; however now they had nothing left them, but either to do or die. Whereupon, (and being mightily encouraged by the Treasurer's ample Promises of assistance and sharing in their Lot) they did cast away their fear, and went to work.

And indeed it is remarkable, that thereafter they acted so far contrary to those Rules of Prudence and Pollicy whereby they had been accustomed to manage their Affairs, that all Men began to espy a Fatality in it.

For they laboured not (as formerly they had done in lesser matters) to have their Book brought in by an Ecclesiastical Sanction, but having gotten it authorized by an Act of Council, proceeded without more ado to urge the Practice thereof. Whereby they provok'd against themselves the most part even of those Ministers that were Episcopal in their

their Judgment, who thought it a very sad matter, that a Liturgy should be imposed upon the Church, without the knowledge and consent of the Church; and judg'd it such a dangerous preparative, that thereby the Civil Power might in after-times introduce any thing (tho' never so hurtful to Religion) and the Church never get one Voice in it : And they were the more offended, in regard King *James* of blessed Memory had never pressed any thing that way, but whatsoever he would have done, us'd to take a Church way in it.

Neither did they at first urge the Practice of their Liturgy upon the remotest Dioceses, and other places, where there was least avernesness from such Changes, but made the first Essays where opposition was most probably to be expected.

Thus they began the Work in the City of *Edinbrough*, where upon the 16 of *July* 1637, (at their Command) the Ministers in their several Pulpits made Intimation that the next Sabbath (being the 23) the Service-Book would be read in all the Churches, extolling the benefit of it, and exhorting the People to comply with it.

When the next Sabbath was come, two of those Ministers that had made the Intimation, (*viz.* Mr. *Andrew Ramsay* and Mr. *Henry Rollock*, having gotten some notice of the Opposition that was to be made) kept the old way of Worship, and meddled not with the Book, but the rest resolved to read it; and that the Work might be done in *St. Giles's* Kirk with the greater Solemnity, the Bishop of *Edinbrough* came there himself from *Halyrood-House* to assist at it.

No sooner was the Service begun, but a Multitude of Wives and Serving-Women in the several Churches, rose in a tumultuous way, and having prefac'd a while with despightful exclamations, threw the Stools they sat on at the Preachers, and thereafter invaded them more nearly, and strove to pull them from their Pulpits, whereby they had much ado to escape their Hands and retire to their Houses. And for the Bishop (against whom their Wrath was most bent) the Magistrates found difficulty enough to rescue him; and when they had brought him without the Church, he was yet in danger to have been murdered in the Street, had not (by Providence) the Earl of Roxbrough (who by the Death of Thomas Earl of Haddington had lately been made Privy Seal) received him into his Coach, which drove so quickly that they could not overtake them.

This Tumult was taken to be but a rash Emergent, without any predeliberation; whereas the Truth is, it was the Result of a Consultation at *Edinburgh* in *April*; at which time Mr. *Alexander Henderson* came thither from his Brethren in *Fife*, and Mr. *David Dick* from those in the West Country; and those two having communicated to my Lord *Balmaranoch* and Sir *Thomas Hope* the Minds of those they came from, and gotten their Approbation thereto, did afterwards meet at the House of *Nicolas Balfour* in the *Cowgate* with *Nicolas*, *Eupham Henderson*, *Bethia* and *Elspes Craigge*, and several other Matrons, and recommended to them, that they and their Adherents might give the first Affront to the Book, assuring them that Men should afterwards take the business out of their Hands.

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The Matrons having undertaken so to do, Mr. *Alexander Henderson* return'd to *Fife*, Mr. *David Dick* retir'd to the West, having, by the way of *Sterling*, and other places, where he halted, (lest notice should be taken of his being at *Edinburgh* at that time) given out, that his Errand there was to Convoy Mr. *Robert Blair* to a Ship, who profess'd to intend for *Germany*, to Preach to a Regiment; whereas in the mean time they had other things in their Heads.

Notwithstanding the Affront in *Edinburgh*, (which should have made the Bishops more wary) the next attempt was also inconsiderate, being made in the East part of *Fife*, where the Bishop of *St. Andrews* caus'd a Messenger charge Mr. *Alexander Henderson* and Mr. *James Bruce* to read the Book, under pain of Horning.

This Mr. *Henderson* had been in his Youth very Episcopal, in token whereof, being a Professor of Philosophy in *St. Andrews*, he did at the Laureation of his Class, chuse Archbishop *Gladstone* for his Patron, with a very flattering Dedication, for the which he had the Kirk of *Lenchairs* given him shortly after; and before he had been many Years there, fell into intimate acquaintance with Mr. *William Scot* in his declining days. Upon Mr. *Henderson* all the Ministry of that Judgment depended; and no wonder, for in Gravity, Learning, Wisdom, and State-Policy, he far exceeded any of them.

* *Always* he and the other being charg'd, had the recourse to the Secret Council, and upon the 23th. of *August* supplicated their Lordships for a suspension of the Charge. The Lords of the Council did take the Supplication to Heart, and wrote to the

* in the
mean time

King thereanent, desiring to know his Mind against the 20th. of *September*, to which day the Supplicants were referr'd for Answer.

The Bishops expected the Council should have rejected those Ministers Supplication, and also inflicted some Exemplary Punishment upon those that acted in the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, and when neither was done, they (knowing the Treasurer's Power in Council to be such, that he rul'd Matters at his pleasure) began then to be jealous of him, when it was too late.

Always the good acceptance which Mr. *Henderson* and the other found at Council, being communicated to the Correspondents in several parts, there followed thereupon much Trafficking throughout the Country, for drawing numbers to *Edinburgh* against the next Council Diet, and not without success; for upon the 19th. of *September* arriv'd there the Earls of *Roths*, *Cassells*, *Eglington*, *Home*, *Lothian*, and *Wemmes*; the Lords *Lindsey*, *Tester*, *Balmaranoch*, *Cranstone*, and *Loudon*; and besides those, divers Burgeses and Ministers from *Fife*, and the Western Shires, all which upon the morrow presented their Supplication against the Book.

The Oracle whom the Supplicants *concerning consulted *anent the legality of their proceeding, was Sir *Thomas Hope*, (his Majesty's Advocate) who, tho' he profess'd to have no Hand in the business, (being the King's Servant) yet in the mean time privately laid down the grounds and ways whereby they might proceed, and that he might not be remark'd, pitch'd upon *Balmaranoch* and Mr. *Henderson* to be the Men, who from time to time should come to him and receive his Overtures.

The

The Treasurer yet profess'd to be for the Bishops, but bewray'd himself abundantly, not only by his private corresponding with the Supplicants, but also by his carriage in publick, which tended altogether to direct them to hound fair, and encourage them to go on.

Besides those, some other Lords spoke favourably in Council of the Supplicants, and passionately rebuk'd the Bishops; amongst whom they did take most offence at the Earl of *Morton*, in regard that he of all *Scots* Men, (the Marquess of *Hamleton* excepted) had tasted most deeply of the King's Bounty: But by this time the Bishops were become so despicable, that neither *Morton*, nor any others valued their Offence; yet was it thought a reason why his Lordship did the sooner return to Court, lest in his absence they might inform to his prejudice. Always the Council deferr'd Answer to the Supplicants until the 17th. of *October*, writing in the mean time to the King, what height the Stir was come to, and intreating his Majesty's Answer against that day; like as the Duke of *Lenox* being present, (who had come to *Scotland* to attend the Burial of his Mother, the Countess of *Abercorn*, and was the next day to begin his Journey to Court) they desir'd his Grace to represent the business fully to his Majesty, and so the Council dissolv'd.

The Supplicants, upon the morrow thereafter, met again at their several Caballs, and unto the Ministers were join'd Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, and Mr. *Henry Rollock*, where the main thing Treated in their Meeting was, how the Brethren throughout the Kingdom might be made to concur with them, (in regard few as yet appear'd, except from *Fife*, and the Western parts) and so it was laid

upon Mr. *Henry Rollock* to deal with those of *Lothian, Merse, and Triviotdale*; Mr. *Andrew Ramsey* to take the like pains with those of *Angus and Mearns*; Mr. *Robert Murray* to travel with them of *Perth and Sterlin* Shires; and an Advertisement was order'd to be sent to Mr. *Andrew Cant* to use the like diligence in the North; and so the Ministers disbanded for that time. At the 17th. of *October* Multitudes of People from several parts of the Land flockt to *Edinburgh* to join in Supplicating, and that so generally, that beside the increase of Noble Men, who had not been formerly there, there were few or no Shires on the South of the *Grampion* Hills, from which came not Gentlemen, Burghers, Ministers, and Commons.

Yet if his Majesty's Answer, which the Council receiv'd, had tended to discharge the Service-Book, (as peaceable Men expected and wish'd) the most part had return'd home well satisfied, and those that were otherwise minded, would
 * *Party* have stay'd with a thin * *Back*; but instead thereof, the first thing the Supplicants heard, was a Proclamation at the Market Cross, ordaining the Service-Book to be practis'd at *Edinburgh*, and other places adjacent; the Council and Sessions to remove from *Edinburgh*, first to *Lithgoe*, and thereafter to *Sterlin*, and the whole Supplicants to depart forth of *Edinburgh* towards their own Homes, within twenty four Hours, under pain of Horning.

This irritated the People of *Edinburgh* so, that the next morning the Women fell to work again, and assembled on the Street to the number of 300, their place of Rendezvouz was *Forrester's Wind-head*, and their first attempt was upon Bishop *Sydeserfe*, who going to the Council-House with
Francis

Francis Stewart, (Son to the late Earl of *Bothwell*) for examining some Witnesses in his Business, was invaded by those Women with such violence, that probably he had been torn in pieces, if it had not been that the said *Francis*, with the help of two pretty Men that attended him, rescu'd him out of their Hands, and hurl'd him in at the Door, holding back the pursuers until those that were within shut the Door.

Thereafter the Provost and Bayliffs being assembled in their Council, those Women beleaguerr'd them, and threatned to burn the House about their Ears, unless they did presently nominate two Commissioners for the Town, to join with the Supplicants; which, to compose the Tumult, they were forc'd to do, and so the Women disbanded for that day, having no more committed to them at that time by those that hounded them out.

The noise of the Town of *Edinburgh's* being join'd to the Supplicants, had such influence upon the Burroughs, that whereas the most part of them had formerly lain by, very shortly after all of them, (*Aberdeen* only excepted) came into the Cause, and indeed being once engaged, turn'd the most furious of any; so that neither their own Ministers, nor any other that disliked the Course, could be in safety among them.

Notwithstanding the Proclamation, whereby the Supplicants were commanded to depart forth of *Edinburgh*, &c. they remain'd nevertheless in Town, and met the next day at their several Tables, for consulting what was next to be done; where, left such Ministers as were not upon the secrets of the business, should, (for fear of contravening the Proclamation) have withdrawn, the Noble Men behoov'd to advertize them, which
other-

otherways they would have been loth to divulge; how they had assurance from the Treasurer (notwithstanding the Proclamation) no notice should be taken of their remaining in Town, provided they kept within Doors, and did not appear on the Street; whereupon, tho' they abode in their Meeting-Houses all that day, yet the most part of it was spent e're they fell upon Business, in regard that *Balmerinoch* and Mr. *Henderson* were all that while with Sir *Thomas Hope*, getting their Lessons.

How soon they return'd from the Lords, Mr. *Henderson* brought from them a Proposition to the Ministers, that whereas they had formerly Supplicated to be freed from the Service-Book, &c. they might now take the Bishops for their Party, complain of them as Underminers of Religion, and crave Justice to be done upon them; but to this many of the Ministers were very unwilling, professing that they came there only to be freed of the Service-Book, and otherways had no Quarrel to the Bishops; which being reported to the Noble Men, they sent to the Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Loudon* to persuade the Ministers, who with their long Orations, (wherein was a mixture of Allurements and Threatnings) prevail'd so upon the Ministers, that the Challenge against the Bishops, (being prepar'd before hand) was instantly subscribed by them all, and deliver'd to the Clerk of the Council, and also Copies thereof given them, to be carried home to their several Presbyteries and Parishes, to be subscribed by all Ranks, and return'd again the next Council day, which was to be the 15th. of *November*.

This being done, the Ministers were demitted for that time, and returning Home thunder'd so
from

from their Pulpits, that against the 15th. of *November* Multitudes of all sorts of People, (in greater number than formerly) from all Quarters, came to *Edinburgh* with their Supplications.

And among other Nobles, (who had not been formerly there) came at that Diet the Earl of *Montrose*, which was most taken notice of; yea, when the Bishops heard that he was come there to join, they were somewhat affrighted, having that esteem of his Parts, they thought it time to prepare for a Storm when he engaged.

* *Always* the number being so great, * *However* (in regard the Councils Diets were not so frequent) the Noble Men consider'd the Multitude could not remain in Town to attend the same; and therefore after some days stay, they appointed that certain out of every Estate should be chosen, to abide with them constantly at *Edinburgh*, and wait upon the Diets of Council for Answer, and the rest to return home, which was done.

The Council sate thereafter at *Dalkeith*, (the Lord Treasurer's Residence) where the Noble Men and Commissioners that attended them, did on the 19th. of *December* present unto the Council a *Declination* against the Bishops, That they, being now made Party, might not sit and Vote in that Judicature: The Lord Treasurer, Sir *James Carmichael*, Treasurer depute, Sir *Thomas Hope* Advocate, and Sir *John Hamleton* Justice Clerk, did all at that Diet discover themselves more clearly for the Supplicants, than formerly they had; the Earl of *Roxbrough*, Lord Privy Seal, was more reserv'd; but none of the States-Men spoke cordially for the Bishops, except Sir *John Hay*, Clerk Register.

The

The Result of the Council was, to send up the Lord Treasurer to inform the King of the height the Business was come to; the Bishops that were present opposed to the uttermost that he should be employ'd, but were not able to hinder it, in regard *Roxbrough* and the Chief of the Councilors were eager for it, and so his Lordship began his Journey to Court upon the 21st. day of *December*, 1638.

Upon the 8th. of *January* the Council and Sessions, (in obedience to the Proclamation of the 17th. of *October*) met in *Sterlin*, and continued there until the end of *February*.

Upon the 14th. of *February* the Treasurer return'd from Court to *Dalkeith*, whereupon the Noble Men and Commissioners residing at *Edinburgh*, sent privately to him his Neighbour my Lord *Cranston*, to bring them intelligence
* went how Matters * ruled above.

Upon the 16th. of *February* the Treasurer came to *Edinburgh*, where he stay'd till the 19th. of *February*, (and spoke with them at length) and then at Two a Clock in the Morning pass'd away to *Sterling*.

What notice the Noble Men had from himself of his Diet was conceal'd, and they profess'd to have learn'd it only by some Footmen of their own, who lodg'd in the Stabler's House, where the Treasurer's Horses stood.

* *Always* no sooner was the Treasurer gone, but (as if they had been surpriz'd therewith) they gave an alarm through the Town, and convened all by three a Clock; and immediately dispatched after him the Earl of *Home* and Lord *Lindsey*, that if any Proclamation were publish'd at *Sterling*, before they

they could come that length, those two might (in their Names) protest against the same; and *Home* and *Lindsey* posted so fast, that they pass'd by the Treasurer in *Torwood*, and were at *Sterling* an Hour before him.

Upon the Treasurer's arrival, the Chancellor presently call'd the Council, and at Ten a Clock caus'd to be publish'd at the Market Cross his Majesty's Proclamation, approving the Service-Book, &c. and discharging all Meetings to the contrary, under pain of Treason: *Home* and *Lindsey* protested against the Proclamation, taking Instruments in the Hands of Mr. *David Forrester*, Notary; the rest of the Noble Men then at *Edinburgh* follow'd towards *Sterling* as fast as they could, having first sent Posts through the *Lothians*, and to *Fife* and *Perthshire*, warning all that lov'd the Cause to come to *Sterling* with all possible hast.

The Noble Men from *Edinburgh* arriv'd at *Sterling* at Four a Clock in the Afternoon, and e're Midnight the Town was full of Arm'd Men, that came upon their call from all Quarters.

The next morning it went current, that Bishop *Spotswood* the Chancellor would * *meet*
* *get* the same Measure, which his Prede- *with*
cessor Bishop *Hamleton* had many Years before gotten in that Town; and indeed the giddy sort would have had it so.

But the Noble Men, and the wisest of the Ministers, abhorred the Motion, and so nothing of that kind was attempted; only having spoken with the Treasurer, and Commissionated *Arthur Airskin* of *Scotsraig*, and Sir *William Murray* of *Pomeis*, to renew their *Declinature* at the first Diet of Council, the Noble Men, and all the rest, (reckoned above 2000) rode straight from *Sterling*

ling to Edinburgh, there to consult what was next to be done; whereof the Issue was, that after some days Advise ment and Consultation with Sir *Thomas Hope*, and other Lawyers, they resolv'd upon a Covenant, to be subscribed by all that would join with them.

And so upon the 1st. of *March 1638*, they being all assembled in the *Gray-Friers Church*, and Church-Yard, the Covenant, (having been prepared before hand) was publickly read, and subscrib'd by them all with much Joy and Shouting.

The Archbishop of *St. Andrews* being then return'd from *Sterling* to *Edinburgh*, when he heard what was done, said, *Now all that we have been doing these 30 Years past is thrown down at once*; and fearing Violence, he presently fled away to *London*, (where the next Year he died) so did also such other of the Bishops, as knew themselves most ungracious to the People; only four of them stay'd at home, whereof three delivered their Persons and Fortunes from Sufferings, by their solemn Recantations; those were Mr. *Alexander Ramsay* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, Mr. *George Graham* Bishop of *Orkney*, and Mr. *James Fairly* Bishop of *Argyle*; but the fourth, Mr. *John Guthrie* Bishop of *Murray*, as he chose not to flee, so upon no terms would he recant, but patiently endured Excommunication, Imprisonment, and other Sufferings, and in the midst of them stood to the Justification of Episcopal Government until his Death.

Many Copies of the Covenant were sent through the Country to the several Presbyteries, Burroughs, and Parishes, to be subscribed; which was every where done with Joy, except in the North parts, where many oppos'd it.

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Upon the noise of the general acceptance which the Covenant had, the Council met again at *Sterling* upon the 10th. of *March*, and sent up Sir *John Hamleton*, Justice Clerk, to inform the King how Business went; who at his return upon the 20th. of *April*, deliver'd to the Council a Letter from his Majesty, wherein he call'd for the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord *Lorn*, to repair to Court, that he might consult with them what to do.

Those three went up immediately, and after Conference with them, his Majesty resolv'd to send down *James*, Marquiss of *Hamleton*, Commissioner, with Power to settle all.

The Lord *Lorn* return'd upon the 20th. of *May*, but the Treasurer and Privy Seal remain'd at Court until the Commissioner was ready to take Journey; and the reason of *Lorn's* halt, was talk'd to be a Counsel, that his Father, (the Earl of *Argile*, who resided at Court) gave the King, which was to keep his Son with him, and not let him return to *Scotland*, or else he would *wind him a pin*, (that was his Expression) The King thank'd *Argile* for his Counsel, but said, *He behoov'd to be a King of his Word*, and therefore having call'd him up by his Warrant, would not detain him.

So *Lorn* was demitted, and came quickly home, and was the first that told of his Majesty's purpose to send the Marquiss of *Hamleton*; and indeed when the noise of it spread, the few that remain'd Anti-Covenanters were much discouraged, expecting no good by him; yea, they spar'd not in their publick Discourses to revive the Story of that Debate which had been betwixt the Lord *Rae* and *David Ramsay*, concerning his pretensions to the Crown, and many other things to the Noble Mans disadvantage. But

But few of the Ministers were so much court-
ed by the Noblemen, as those who the year past
had come over from *Ireland*, in regard they found
by their Pulse how ready they would be to go
with them to the utmost of their designs. Where-
as they had suspicion of many others (and
not without cause) that how soon they should
go beyond that which they call'd Reformation of
the Church, and encroach upon the King, they
would fall away.

The speedy provision for those Ministers was
heartily recommended by the Noblemen, and
accordingly Mr. *Robert Blair* was planted in *Aire*,
Mr. *James Hamleton* in *Dumfrize*, and the rest of
them in *Galloway* and the places adjacent, all be-
ing Vacant by the flight of those who had for-
merly served there; who for their disaffection to
the Covenant, were so persecuted by the People,
that they found no way to save their Lives but
by present abandoning their Country. By this
time returned from the *North* the Earl of *Mon-
trofs*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, and Mr. *David
Dick*, who had been sent thither upon this oc-
casion. It was presumed that the influence which
the Town and Clergy of *Aberdeen* had upon the
Shires adjacent, was the cause of their averfeness
from the Covenant; and therefore were they
employed to go there and work their Conversion.
At their first arrival, no Ministers from the Nor-
thern parts came to them, except only Mr. *Andrew
Cant*, Minister at *Patfalgow*; yet they had the con-
fidence to engage in dispute with the Doctors of
Aberdeen, and there passed betwixt them Re-
plies and Duplies on both sides, which were Print-
ed. The Anti-covenanters boasted that their
Doctors had the Victory in the Dispute; which
was

was not to be admir'd, for Mr. *Dick* and Mr. *Cant* could * *make* little help to Mr. * *give* *Henderson*, and for him, (though it cannot be deny'd that he was a Learned Man) yet, without wronging him, it may be thought, that he could not well hold up against all those Doctors, who for their Eminency in Learning were Famous not only at home, but also throughout other Churches abroad.

Always howbeit those Doctors continu'd obstinate, (whereby thereafter they come to be so persecuted, that for saving their Lives they were forced to flee out of their Country) yet *Montross*, with the assistance of those three Ministers, (whom Mr. *Forrester* in his Litany call'd the Apostles of the Covenant) prevail'd with many of the Citizens to subscribe the Covenant, and by their Example had the like success with most of the Ministers and People throughout the Shires adjacent; and so being accompany'd with a great multitude of Profelytes, they return'd to *Edinburgh* in due time to wait upon the Treaty with my Lord Commissioner his Grace.

The day whereon the Commissioner came from *Dalkeith* to *Holyrood House*, he pass'd by the Sands of *Leith*, upon the knowledge whereof, the Noble Men made all the People to be drawn forth to that place, whereby his Grace might see the Numbers, the Ministers kept in a Body by themselves, and had *William Levingston* Minister at *Lanrick*, in readiness to declaim an Oration to him, which being told him, he discharg'd it.

After his settling in *Holyrood House*, the Covenanters nominated to attend his Grace, and treat upon the Affairs, *John* Earl of *Rothes*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, and *John*, Lord *Londore*, and
D with

with them Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, *David Dick*, and *Andrew Cant*.

At the first meeting his Deportment to them was stately and harsh, so that upon the 4th. of *July* he caus'd to be publish'd at the Cross of *Edinburgh* a Proclamation, tending rather to approve than condemn the Service Book, and other Novations complain'd on, which was solemnly protested against by many thousands present; and the Protestation was read by Mr. *Archibald Johnston*, and Instruments taken in the Hands of three Notarys; which was done by the Earl of *Cassels* in the Name of the Nobility, by Mr. *Alexander Gibson* of *Dury* the younger in the Name of the Gentry, by *James Fletcher* Provost of *Dundee*, in the Name of the Burroughs, and by Mr. *John Hare* in the Name of the Ministers; and the said Mr. *Archibald Johnston* was Reader thereof, in the Name of all who adhered to the Covenant.

Upon the morrow those Lords and Ministers return'd to his Grace, and found him more plausible in Treating with them, even publickly before *Roxbrough*, *Southesk*, the Treasurer Depute, and Justice Clerk, and other Councillors that were present; but that which came to be most talk'd of, was something which at their parting he told them in private, for having desir'd those Lords of Council to stay in that Chamber till his return, himself convoy'd them thro' the Rooms, and stepping into the Gallery, drew them into a corner, and then express'd himself as follows.

My Lords and Gentlemen, *I spoke to you before those Lords of Council as the King's Commissioner; now there being none present but your selves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotchman: If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you*

you please ; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone : A Word is enough to wise Men.

This having been spoken in private, I should not have mentioned, were it not that it came shortly after to be publick, and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, and others worse than it was.

My Warrants for what I have set down are these, 1st. That the same very day Mr. *Cant* told it to Dr. *Guild*, who the next morning reported it to Mr. *David Douglas* Minister at *Cooper*, and Mr. *Robert Knox* Minister at *Kelso*, and to Mr. *Henry Guthrie* Minister at *Sterline*.

2^{ly}. The said *Henry* being that night with the Earl of *Montrose* at Supper, his Lordship drew him to a Window, and there told it in the very same terms wherein Dr. *Guild* had reported it to him ; adding that it wrought an impression on him to doubt that my Lord *Hamilton* might intend by this business, to advance his diligence ; but that he would suspend his judgment until he saw farther, and in the meantime look more narrowly to his walking.

The Commissioner, to avoid the Indiction of an Assembly and Parliament, lay quiet at *Holyrood-House*, and after some days abode there, retired to his House at *Hamilton*.

* *Always* the next day the Lords * *However* and Ministers returned to his Grace again, and after some debates told him plainly, that nothing but a Parliament and General Assembly could settle business. His Grace craved leisure to make a Journey to Court for procuring the same ; whereunto they agreed, and so he went away upon the 9th of *July*, promising to return

with his Majesty's answer before the 12th of *August* : And to pacifie them a little, did (before his going away) send a Proclamation to the Mercat Crofs of *Edinburgh*, for the Council and Session to Sit there again, which was presently obeyed.

Upon the 8th of *August* the Commissioner returned, and the morrow declared in Council that he had obtained from his Majesty allowance to indict a Parliament and Assembly, provided the Covenanters should first condescend to some preparatory Articles. Whereupon peaceable Men trafficked much to dispose them to a Condescension, but all in vain; for those Articles being upon the 13th day offered to them, were rejected. After which his Grace told them that his Instructions did not warrant him to grant any Parliament and Assembly, until his Majesty were further supplicated; and therefore desired time until the 20th of *September* to go to the King for that end, which upon the 25th of *August* was by them condescended unto, upon Condition that thereafter no delays should be sought. So that day his Grace began his Journey to Court.

And in his absence there was a Treatise Printed at *Edinburgh* and spread, holding out reasons for the Churches power to keep Assemblies without the Magistrate's allowance in case of his averfeness, which shewed the design intended, in case his Majesty should happen to refuse.

The Commissioner returned upon the 17th of *September*, and having convened the Council, his Grace and the whole Lords thereof (according to his Majesties command) did upon the 22th day subscribe that Covenant which of old in the Year 1580, had been subscrib'd by King *James* and his

his Council, and by the Body of the Land; and they also by Proclamation at the Cross of *Edinburgh* discharg'd the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, and High Commission, declaring the *Perth's* Articles to have no force, and indicted a General Assembly to sit at *Glasgow* upon the 24th. of *November* 1638, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* upon the 15th. of *May* 1639.

Upon the hearing thereof all moderate Men were overjoy'd, and expecting that the Covenanters would now be well satisfy'd, (and so indeed would the most part of them have been, that went on in simplicity) but the Leaders, (whom the rest durst not contradict) instead of acquiescing, went boldly to the Market Cross with a Protestation, wherein, as they profess'd to accept the Favours granted them in that Proclamation with Thanks, so did they protest against the Tenor of it, as being in other things not satisfactory: Mr. *Archibald Johnston* read their Protestation, and Instruments thereupon were taken in the Hands of their Notarys, by *James*, Earl of *Montrose* in the Names of the Nobility, by Mr. *Alexander Gibson* of *Durrie* the younger in the Names of the Gentry, by *George Petersfield* Burgeiss of *Glasgow*, in the Name of the Burroughs, and by Mr. *Henry Rollock* in the Name of the Ministers; and Mr. *Archibald Johnston* was Reader thereof, in the Names of all that adhered to the Covenant.

This Carriage stumbled very many, and made them apprehensive, that the Leaders of the Business had more in their Design than as yet they profess'd; but they carry'd things with so high an Hand, that none had the Courage to speak against them; all went along, tho' with a secret reluctance; and it was no wonder, in regard, that by this time

(the Lords of the Council excepted) they had well near engag'd the whole Nation to the Covenant, yea, even the most part of the Highlanders also, those of them that had dependance upon the House of *Argile*, such as the Counties of *Argile*, *Lorn*, *Kintyre*, *Cowall* and *Brodalbin*, were furious asserters of it, to gratifie their Superior the Lord *Lorn*, (who, altho' he profess'd to stand by the King, and in every thing went along with the Council, yet was known to be cordial for the Covenanters, and to have intimate correspondence with them) and for the rest, albeit in their Hearts they abhor'd the Covenant, (yet to avoid the wrath of Great Men, and thinking it the most probable way to escape Suffering) they also went along with the Multitude.

The Commissioner since the indiction of the Assembly and Parliament, lay quiet at *Holyrood-House*, and after some days abode there, retired to his House of *Hamleton*, to wait upon the Diet of the Assembly.

But the Noble Men and certain Commissioners of the other Estates, abode still at *Edinburgh*, and kept up their Tables there, for preparing Matters for the Assembly.

And first, that with the more Legality they might have the Bishops secluded from claiming to be Members thereof, their Tables appointed the several Presbyteries where Bishops had resided, to summon them (as Trespassers) to the Assembly, some of them for Faults alledg'd in their Calling, others in their Conversation, and some for both, which was accordingly done.

Next the Tables at *Edinburgh* were careful to inform the Presbyteries concerning the constituent Members of the Assembly, that there should be
from

from every Presbytery two Ministers at least, and three at most, together with one Ruling Elder.

And as to the Qualifications of the Ministers that were to be chosen, to the end that such as they suspected to be falling from them might not be pitch'd on, they prescrib'd divers Caveats to be look'd to in their Election; as that none should be chosen who had formerly been the King's Chaplains; or Members of Bishops Chapters, or who had been Justices of Peace, or upon the High Commission, and generally those of whom they had not certain perswasion that they were fix'd their way.

And for the Ruling Elders, as there was to be but one from each Presbytery, so they enjoyn'd that he should be a well affected Nobleman, if any such had Lands within the bounds of that Presbytery; and failing thereof a well affected Gentleman; whereby it came to pass, that all the Noble Men who were furious in the Cause, were Elected either in one Presbytery or other, and so became Members of the Assembly.

And lest their private Instructions sent to the Presbyteries should be publickly known, whereby their Adversaries might esteem them prelimitations, and upon that account impugn the freedom of the Assembly; therefore at the receiving of them; the Brethren of each Presbytery took an Oath of Secresie, which was very ill kept, for before the Assembly met, they were talk'd of every where, and brought to my Lord Commissioner's knowledge.

When the Diet of the Assembly drew near, the Tables at *Edinburgh* consider'd how fit it would be, that besides the Commissioners, the Gentry of the Country should be drawn thither, to guard the

Assembly, and make it terrible to gainfayers, for which end they found out a pretty Device, * up there were then some Robbers * aloft in the * report High Lands, of whom they made the * Bruit to pass, that they would come down and beset the Ways, and do Violence to the Commissioners in their Journey to *Glasgoe*; and that for preventing thereof, it was fit, that all who were zealous in the Cause, should convoy their Commissioners thither, and guard them during their sitting, which was done.

The Assembly sate down the 21st. of *November*, 1638, and old Mr. *John Bell*, Minister of the Town, did *break up the Assembly.

My Lord Commissioner being present, was attended by the Lords of Council, amongst which was my Lord *Lorn*, (who is to be hereafter call'd Earl of *Argile*, upon his Father's Death, which fell out at that time) his Lordship attended my Lord Commissioner as a Privy Counsellor, not having as yet declar'd himself avowedly for the Covenant.

Mr. *Alexander Henderson* was chosen Moderator of the Assembly, Mr. *Archibald Johnston* Clerk, my Lord Commissioner, (attended by the Council) sate in the Assembly until the 28th. day, debating concerning the seclusion of the Bishops, and other things that belong'd to the Constitution thereof; and getting no satisfaction, did that day at four a Clock in the Afternoon withdraw, and the next morning at nine a Clock did, by a Proclamation at the Market Cross of *Glasgoe*, discharge the Assembly, under pain of Treason; which was solemnly protested against by many hundreds there present, and Instruments taken thereupon in their Names by the Earl of *Rothes*,

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the Proclamation, the Assembly presently thereafter met, and sat daily, for divers weeks, until they had done their Affairs, and were themselves pleas'd to dissolve.

The Earl of *Argile* came in that day to the Assembly, and sat constantly there until the close; his joining them caus'd great rejoycing, yet many thought the strain of the Discourse he made at his entry, wanted of that prudence which might have been expected from him; for it was to this effect, *That from the beginning he had been theirs, and would have taken that Cause by the hand as soon as any of them did, if it had not been, that he conceiv'd that his professing hitherto for the King, and going along with his Council, was more available to them, than if he had declar'd himself at first for them.*

* *Always Argile's Example, together* * *never-*
with my Lord Commissioner's so quiet *steale*
Department, being in the midst of the
Country where his Power lay, wrought so upon
the Lords of the Council, and other Noble Men
also, (who had formerly stood out) that many of
them, during the time of the Assembly, and others
of them shortly after, join'd to the Covenanters.

The chief things that were done in the Assembly were these, all preceeding General Assemblies since the Year 1605 were declar'd null; the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination, the High Commission, together with the five Articles of *Perth*, were all condemn'd; that Covenant which had been allow'd in the Year 1580 by King *James*, and this to be declar'd substantially one, and that Episcopacy was in the former abjur'd.

The Bishops were all depos'd, and most part of them excommunicated, (those being excepted from
that

that Censure that submitted to the Assembly) many Ministers were also depos'd, and Commissioners appointed to sit in several places after the rising of the Assembly, for deposing the rest, that should happen to persist in opposing the Work; and ordain'd Mr. *Henderson's* Transportation from *Lenchbars* to *Edinburgh*, they concluded that a Letter should be fram'd and sent to the King, for obtaining his Royal Assent for all things that were done.

So upon the 20th. day of *December* 1638 the Assembly rose in Triumph.

And upon the 24th. the Commissioners authorized by the Assembly.

The Commissioners who sat at *Edinburgh* needed no long process with the Ministers thereof, in regard the fear of Violence had forc'd them all to flee, except Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, and Mr. *Henry Rollock*, who were both forward in the Cause, and so not liable to Censure.

The first that was brought there to draw in the Yoke with them was Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, and to his Kirk of *Lenchbars* was presented Mr. *Eleazer Borthwick*, (he who formerly had stay'd some Years at *London* Trafficking with Non-Conformists there) but before he had remain'd two Months at the said Kirk, he was by the Leaders of the Cause quietly sent back again to *London*, to prosecute that Trade, where he stay'd till his death.

Like as the Earl of *Haddington*, who, after his Father's Death, had gone up to kiss the King's Hand, remain'd there at that time, and it was whisper'd, that under profession of waiting on his Majesty, he transacted that same Business with the Nobles, (which *Borthwick* did with the Citizens, and others of the inferior Rank) and thereof kept

kept intelligence with the Earl of *Rothes* his Brother in Law at home.

In the end of *December* my Lord Commissioner began his Journey to Court, having left the Country, (since the rising of the Assembly) all in an Uproar.

1639

AND upon the 9th. of *January*, 1639; Mr. *George Windrom* of *Liberton* was sent to Court with the Assemblies Letter to the King, and as soon as the Marquis of *Hamilton* told the King of his Arrival and Errand, the King commanded his Lordship to receive the Letter from Mr. *Windrom*; and having upon the 15th. day conven'd the *Scottish* Council, caus'd the Letter to be read in their presence, and crav'd their opinion

* *anent* it, who all with one Voice said * *concerning* it was a most humble and well penn'd Letter; whereupon his Majesty took his answering of it into deliberation, and shortly thereafter sent down a Letter to his Council here, (which was read upon *January* the 29th.) bearing, that for the better settling of *Scottish* Matters, he would be at *York* against the first of *April*, and would call the *Scotch* Council to come there and give him advice.

Notwithstanding hereof, the Noble Men and Ministers that remain'd at *Edinburgh*, and had the leading of the Business, profess'd to have intelligence, that the King intended nothing but War, and was using his endeavours to raise an Army, wherewith to invade this Land; and upon that ground, (* *albeit* as yet there was no * *altho* answer from Mr. *Windrom*, who returned

not

not before *March 21*) they call'd a General Meeting of Noble Men and of Commissioners from the other Estates, to meet at *Edinburgh* upon the 20th. of *February*, for resolving upon a defensive War.

And being conven'd, and the Business for which they were brought there propounded, a Paper setting forth reasons for the lawfulness and necessity of a defensive War, (being contriv'd by *Balmarinoch*, *Hope*, and *Henderson*, before hand) was read in the Meeting, whereupon all the Noble Men and others conven'd, profess'd they conceiv'd such clearness in the Question, that instantly all of them with one Voice consented to the Lifting of an Army, and Voted General *Lesley* to be General thereof.

Immediately these Reasons were dispers'd thro' all parts of the Kingdom, for procuring an Universal consent, and Orders therewith sent to the Ministers every where to frame their Doctrine towards that end.

And upon the 21st. of *March* the General, accompany'd with the People of *Edinburgh*, and all other Covenanters that were in Town, went, and without any dispute had the Castle of *Edinburgh* surrender'd, Mr. *Archibald Haldon*, Constable thereof, having no Provision for holding it out, for albeit in *October* last the Lord Commissioner had been careful to buy out the Earl of *Marr*, (formerly Keeper thereof) and get the House in his own possession, yet his Grace forgot to furnish it afterwards either with Men or Meat; so that when General *Lesley* came before it, there was not one Man more within, but those few Servants, who, under the Earl of *Marr*, had the keeping of it in time of Peace; neither had they one Nights Provision by them.

There-

Thereafter the General, accompany'd as before, went the 23th. of *March* to *Dalkeith*, (which then belong'd to the King) and having the House surrender'd to him, brought from thence to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, (which now he had Garrison'd) great store of Powder and Arms, which the Earl of *Traquair*, (High Treasurer) had privately brought home from *London*, for the King's use; and his Lordship was so unfortunate, that very shortly it came to be believ'd, that himself was the Man that put the General upon the Prize.

While the General was thus employ'd, there came a report from the North, that the *Aberdonians* were Fortifying their Town, and the Marquis of *Huntley* and his Friends drawing into a Body; whereupon the General and his Council, then at *Edinburgh*, appointed the Earl of *Montross* with all diligence to * levy * raise the *Fife*, *Strathern*, *Angus*, and *Merne*, Countries of and March North, for suppressing their Insolence; which he did with such wonderful celerity, that upon the 30th. of *March* he Charg'd *Aberdeen*, and indeed the Defendants were so frighted at his approach, that without dispute they submitted to him, and demolish'd their Fortifications: Some fiery Ministers that attended him urg'd no less, than that he should burn the Town, and the Soldiers press'd for liberty to plunder it, but he was more noble than to hearken to such cruel Motions, and so drew away his Army without harming them in the least.

And March'd towards the Marquis of *Huntley*, who, upon the notice of his approach, disbanded his Forces, and sent some Friends to Treat, (himself retiring in the mean time to his House of *Strabogie*, to wait for an answer) and when his Messengers

Messengers return'd and deliver'd him *Montross's* answer, he came immediately thereafter himself to salute him, and upon the fifth of *April* subscrib'd a * *Writ* substantially the same with the Covenant, and convoy'd *Montross* to *Aberdeen*, as being now on his side; yet such was his levity, that the next day he * *resiled* from the *Writ* he had sign'd; whereupon *Montross* restored it to him, and brought him and his eldest Son, the Lord *Gordon*, Prisoners to *Edinburgh*, where they were * *warded* in the Castle: But his second Son, the Lord *Aboyne*, subscrib'd the Covenant, and therefore *Montross* suffer'd him to stay in the North.

* *an Instrument or Written Paper*

* *receded*

* *kept Prisoners*

Upon further intelligence of his Majesty's Preparations, after *Montross's* return from the North, General Officers, Collonels, and other inferior Commanders were elected; and a Committee of War appointed in every Shire, for furthering the Levies, and a fourth Man throughout the whole Land appointed to be drawn forth with speed; likewise Messengers were sent beyond the Sea for Arms and Ammunition, which was much further'd by the *Scotch* Factors in *Camphire*, who were all furious in the Cause, and advanc'd much thereto, refusing to be more Subjects, in that Sir *Patrick Drumm* made Conservitor, adhered to the King.

The Officers of the Army being all agreed on a Fortification of the Town of *Leith*, it was begun and advanc'd very fast, in regard, that beside the inferior sort, and such as wrought for Pay, incredible numbers of Voluntiers, and those of all sorts, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others wrought, and none busier in bearing the Rubbish than Ladies of Honour.

The

The next Case was, how to be provided of Monéys, and for this they insinuated with *William Dick*, at that time the most considerable Merchant in *Scotland*, and flatter'd him so, that he, (being a Vain-Glorious Man) advanc'd them very great Sums, (whereby at last he dy'd a Beggar) at the first Four Hundred Thousand Marks, and afterwards much more, for the which they caus'd him to be made Provost of *Edinburgh*, the Place being empty by Sir *John Hays's* flight into *England*, who, with President *Spotswood*, (who had also fled to escape Violence) and the *Scottish* Bishops, who did accuse the Earl of *Traquair* before the King, for his Treacherous Deportment in the *Scotch* Business, and gave in great * *Com-plaints or accusations* against him before his Majesty; but his Majesty would not be induc'd * *to believe amis of* take any hard Cause with him, to the grief of all that were Loyal, and the encouragement of Rogues and Traitors.

The King at that time was in *Tork*, and reports came home daily to our Great Ones from false Hearted Men about him, what his Projects were, and at length, that he had attain'd to a considerable Army, and propos'd shortly to advance from *Tork* towards the Borders; whereupon (great store of Arms and Ammunition being arriv'd here from *Zealand*, and dispers'd to their several Shires, whereby the Soldiers were sufficiently Arm'd) the General and his Council sent new Advertisement through the Shires for the whole Regiments to March in all hast towards the South, and in their way to expect the General's Orders where to have their Rendezvouz; which was accordingly obey'd, for the Zeal of People in those Days made them march like *Felhu*.

Upon

Upon the 21st. of *May*, the King's Navy, consisting of 20 great Ships, arriv'd in the Road of *Leith*, the Marquis of *Hamilton* being Commander thereof; and under him Sir *John Pennington*: There were said to be in the Ships Three Thousand Soldiers for Land Service, beside as many as the Ships requir'd; upon report whereof, the Lord *Aboyne* took the Field again, with those of the Name of *Gordon*, and other Anti-Covenanters in the North, and sent an Invitation to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, that he would be pleas'd to employ his Land Soldiers to join with them, which his Lordship refus'd; yea, he was so favourable to his Native Country, that until the Pacification, which follow'd thereafter, he lay still in the *Firth*, and never attempted any thing at all.

Yet was not that the reason why the Anti-Covenanters at that time spoke so loudly of the Marquis's Disloyalty, but it was because of some private Correspondence his Lordship had with the Leaders of the Covenanted Faction, which came to their knowledge; for they understood how Mr. *William Cunningham* of *Brownhill* was sent aboard to him, and that after his return, the next
Sands
or Strand Night the Marquis came ashore by Boat to the* *Links* of *Barnbugall* at midnight, where my Lord *Loudon* met him, and had two Hours Conference with him; and that afterwards his Lordship return'd to his Ships, and *Loudon* to those that sent him.

This coming to be known, furnish'd occasion of much talking to his prejudice, and particularly it wrought upon the Earl of *Montross*, to entertain further jealousy of his ways than before, which nevertheless he conceal'd for a long space thereafter.

By

By this time most part of the Regiments were march'd Southward, and before the General's removing from *Edinburgh*, his Excellency and his Council of War, appointed *Montrose* to commit his Regiment to his Lieutenant Collonel, and himself to go Northward, and raise the People of the Shires and Burroughs of *Angus* and *Mearnes*, for suppressing the Lord *Aboyn* and his Forces; which with speed he went about, and having levy'd a considerable number, advanc'd towards them; they were reckon'd to be 2000 Foot and 300 Horse; and he double the number, and more.

The Encounter was at the Bridge of *Dee*, and the Matter for some Hours well disputed on both sides, in the end *Montrose* gain'd the Bridge, and routed them; but with little Blood shed, in regard of the Highlanders swiftness in flying, and that his Generous Mind was more eager for Victory than Execution.

Those in the North being suppress'd, *Montrose* disbanded his Forces in *Angus*, and retired to his own House, there to remain, expecting that the General and his Council should have invited him to come South and attend his Regiment; which they neglecting to do, he went not, but stay'd at home until the return of the Army, which was shortly after.

For by that time the King having brought his Army within two Miles of *Berwick*, General *Lesley* call'd all the *Scottish* Regiments to *Dunee*, where they pitch'd on the 20th. of *May*.

But both the Armies, (being in view of each other, tho' seven Miles distant) lay quiet, without attempting any thing, until the second of *June*; at which time the *Scots* sent by the Earl of *Dumfermling* a Supplication to the King for a

E

Treaty;

Treaty, which his Majesty granted: The place of Treating was the Earl of *Arrundell's* Tent, his Majesty's General: From the *Scottish* Army went thither the Earl of *Rothes*, Lord *Londore*, Sir *William Douglas* of *Cavers*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*; at their first arrival, the King came unexpectedly to that Tent, and gave them a Kiss of his Hand; after which, (with some Discourses that fell in) the Treaty was adjourn'd until the 12th. day, at which time they return'd, and went forward in Treating until the 18th. day, upon which happily the Treaty ended in Pacification.

The chief Articles agreed on were, *That, as the King would not own their Assembly of Glasgoe, so neither should they be urg'd to disown it. That there shall be a full and free Assembly holden at Edinburgh upon August the 12th. and a Parliament August 26. That in the mean time both the Armies should Disband; all Captiv'd Prisoners and Places be restor'd to the owners; and mutual assurances from all Damages.*

The Agreement was upon that 18th. of *June* sign'd by the King, and his General and Council, and upon the morrow his General, and the Earl of *Holland*, and others came to *Dunee*, General *Lestey's* Head Quarters, to see it sign'd by him and his Council of War.

And so upon the 20th. day, being Thursday, at Ten a Clock, both the *Scottish* and *English* Armies disbanded, and retir'd peaceably homeward.

One thing his Majesty excepted much against, which fell out at the disbanding of the *Scottish* Army, he having, (according to Capitulation) sent the Earl of *Morton* to the *Scottish* Army, to cause Proclamation, bearing, That his Majesty own'd the Pacification, and therefore commanded them
to

to disband, his Proclamation was publickly protested against by the Earl of *Cassles*, in the Name of the rest.

This did highly displease the King, and in token that it could not well be defended, when they were afterwards challeng'd * *about* * *ancient* it, they deny'd it to have been a Protestation, saying, That it was only a Declaration of their adherence to the Assembly of *Glasgow*; yet the Armies were disbanded, and things were prosecuted for a time, according to the Treaty; so that the Earls of *Winton*, *Roxbrough*, *Lauderdall*, *Haddington*, and others that had been with the King, retired home.

The Castle of *Edinburgh* was upon the 22th. of *June* deliver'd to the Marquiss of *Hamleton*, his Majesty's Commissioner, who presently plac'd General *Ruthven* in it; whereupon follow'd on the morrow thereafter, the 23th. of *June*, the enlargement of the Marquiss of *Humley*, and his Son the Lord *Gordon*; and also upon the 27th. by my Lord *Hamleton*'s command, the King's Navy retired out of the *Firth* towards *England*.

Then were those that lov'd Peace fill'd with hope that other Troubles were ended, but that was soon check'd, by an accident which follow'd upon the 2. of *July*, and imported, that the Covenanters meant not to * *sit* * *stop* there; for that day the Lord Treasurer, with my Lord *Kinnowle*, and General *Ruthven*, coming down from the Castle through the Street of *Edinburgh*, the devout Wives, (who at first put life in the Cause) did now, (when it was in danger to be bury'd) restore it again, by invading them, and throwing Stones at them.

That this breach of the Pacification had private allowance few doubted, in that those Women us'd not to run unsent, yet it was not publickly own'd, for upon the 4th. of *July* the Lord *Loudon* was dispatch'd to the King, (then at *Berwick*) to excuse it, and returning brought an Order from his Majesty, requiring 14 of the *Scots* to repair to

his Court at *Berwick*, with whom he
 * coming might consult anent the way of his
 there * incomeing to hold the Assembly and
 Parliament in Person.

Those were *Argile*, *Roths*, *Montros*, *Lothian*, *Cassells*, *Dumfermling*, *Lindsey*, *Loudon*, *Sir William Douglas* of *Cavers*, *Mr. Henderson*, *Mr. Archibald Johnston*, *Provoist* of *Edinburgh*, *Edward Edgar*, *Bayliff* there, and the *Provoist* of *Sterling*.

Of those there went, upon the 16th. of *July*, *Roths*, *Montros*, *Lothian*, *Sir William Douglas*, *Edward Edgar*, and *Mr. Archibald Johnston*, and having kiss'd the King's Hand, his Majesty commanded them to send back post for the rest, which they did.

Whereupon they prepar'd, as if they intended to go, but had it so contriv'd, that when they came to the *Watergate* to take Horse, multitudes were convened there to stop them, upon pretence, that if they went they would be detain'd.

And so it resolv'd in this, that the Lord *Loudon* should write an Excuse to the King, which came to his Hand the 19th. day, but was not well taken.

Upon the morrow those that were already with the King obtain'd dismissal, upon promise that they should return and bring up the rest with them.

But being come home, the Matter was consult'd, and resolv'd that it was not safe for them to

go; whereupon *Lindsey* and *Loudon* were sent to the King for excusing the Business, and return'd upon the 27th. of *July*, having left his Majesty so ill satisfy'd, to be thus distrusted, that (instead of coming to *Scotland* to hold the ensuing Assembly and Parliament in Person) he did on Monday 29 take his Journey for *London*.

This was loudly exclaim'd upon by all that were apt to admit Prejudices against him, and imputed to some advertisement from the Queen, and the Bishop of *Canterbury*; yet was there the less reason to blame his Majesty for it, that before his removing he authoriz'd the Lord Treasurer to be his Commissioner both at Assembly and Parliament.

The Assembly met at *Edinburgh* upon the 12th. of *August*, and the Lord Commissioner sat daily therein, attended by the Lords of the Council.

Mr. *David Dick* was chosen Moderator, who betray'd such weakness in that Employment, as made every one to say, *Minuit presentia famam*; yea, it had been worse with him, were it not that Mr. *Henderson* sat at his Elbow as his Coadjutor.

Upon the 17th. of *August* the Assembly made an Act, condemning Episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God, whereunto my Lord Commissioner gave his assent; and also upon the 30th. day the Assembly made another Act, approving and ratifying the Covenant, and ordaining the same to be sworn unto, and subscrib'd by all the Members of the Kingdom, whereunto also his Grace assented.

And the very day when this last Act was made and approved, the Assembly took into consideration how the Universities might be provided of Professors, since many that serv'd there had fled

away; and herein they did wisely, for
 * *influenced* seeing the People of *Scotland* are much
 * *acted* by their Ministers Doctrine, it
 was to good purpose for them to plant
 * *Students* such Men therein as would Principle
 * *in Divinity* young * *Theologues* their way, where-
 of they had the more need, because by this time
 the Old Ministers saw so far into their Design,
 that divers of them were falling from them, and
 so no way remain'd to keep the Church constant-
 ly on their side, but that young ones, (who were
 to succeed when they were gone) should be bred
 towards a liking of their Course.

As for the College of *Edinburgh* there needed
 no pains to be taken, in regard Mr.
 * *principal* *John Adamson* * *primer* thereof was
 furious enough in their Cause, albeit
 many thought it was not from Persuasion, but
 in Policy, to eschew their Wrath.

And for *St. Andrews*, the Mother of the rest,
 Mr. *Samuel Rutherford* was brought
 * *Country* from a * *Landward Kirk* in *Galloway*
 * *Church* to be principal Master of the *Theolo-*
gy College there, and to strengthen his Hands
 the more, Mr. *Robert Blair* was transported from
Air to be Minister in that Town, the former Mi-
 nisters, Dr. *Gladstone* and Dr. *Wiseheart*, having
 both been driven away by Persecution.

It was also thought upon to transport Mr. *Da-*
vid Dick from *Truine* to be a Professor in *Glas-*
goe, which shortly after came to pass; for albeit
 his weakness for that Profession was generally
 known, yet, in regard he was very seditious, and
 had a pragmatical way of dealing with
 * *for that* young Folks, * *towards that end* the
 * *reason* Leaders of the Cause thought that his
 settling

settling there might be profitable to them. And as for *Aberdeen*, until they should fall upon such Professors, in whom they might confide, it was determin'd that Mr. *Andrew Cant* should be transported to be a Minister in that Town, which afterwards was done.

This design in placing such Men in the Universities, was not taken notice of by those that had the charge of his Majesty's Affairs, yet did it in progress of time prove the most effectual means whereby that Cause prevail'd; for when those young Men, (who had their Breeding under them) came forth to be Ministers in the Church, they were incomparably furious, and therein outstripp'd the elder Men, (even of their own Judgment) so far, that if any of them happen'd (upon any occasion) to speak of any thing that favour'd of Moderation, they were therefore reckon'd *Laodicean* Politicians, &c. the madness of the time being such, that those who were most cruel were most cry'd up.

The Parliament sat down the 31st. of *August*, my Lord Commissioner being present therein.

All the Acts of the Assembly were ratified by Parliament, with his Grace's allowance, and then it was expected that the Parliament should have risen, being only indicted for that end.

But the Leaders of the Cause had farther Projects, and instead of rising propos'd a number of new Motions concerning the Constitution of Parliaments, and other things never Treated on before, * *whereanent* the Com- * concerning
missioner told them he had no Instru- which
ctions.

Montross argued somewhat against those Motions, for which the Zealots became suspicious

of him, that the King had turn'd him at his being with his Majesty in *Berwick*, yet they seem'd to take little notice thereof, only the vulgar, (whom they us'd to hound out) whisper'd in the Streets to his prejudice; and the next Morning he found affix'd upon his Chamber Door a Paper, with these words written in it:

Invidius Armis, verbis vincitur.

The Contest encreasing betwixt the Commissioner and them about those Motions, his Grace acquainted the King therewith, who wrote to him to prorogue the Parliament, and repair to Court; which being told the Estates, they press'd that the prorogation might be with the consent of the
 * *departure* Estates, and upon his refusal they oppos'd his * *way-going*.

Whereupon he delay'd his Voyage, and sent the Earl of *Kinnowle* to represent the Matter to the King; like as the Estates sent up *Dumfermling* and *Loudon* for their Interest, who being arriv'd, were discharg'd from coming within a Mile of the Court; whereupon they return'd without access.

And the King by his Letters commanded the Commissioner to prorogue them till the 2 day of *June*, 1640, without their consent, which being done upon the first of *November*, they protested to the contrary; and the Protestation, (being prepar'd before hand) was presently read by Mr. *Archibald Johnston*, and Instruments thereupon taken by the Earl of *Rothes*; so the Parliament disbanded for that time.

And the next day my Lord Commissioner began his Journey to Court.

As likewise upon the 17th. of *November* Mr. *William Cunningham* of *Brownhall* was sent up by the

the Committee of Estates with a Supplication to his Majesty, for a Proclamation for Commissioners to come thither and clear his Majesty's Scruples.

The Commissioner return'd *December* 18, and upon the morrow transported privately from *Holyrood House* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the Crown, with other Regal Honours; yet was so unfortunate, as even in that to be esteemed faithful to the Cause, in regard that before Night it came to be publickly known.

* *Always* having done that Business * *However* he came for, his Grace return'd next day to Court; and upon the 23th. of *December* arriv'd Mr. *William Cunningham*, and brought with him a Proclamation for Commissioners to repair to Court.

1640.

W Hereupon did assemble at *Edinburgh* upon the 14th of *January*, 1640, a great meeting of the Estates and prime Ministers (without whom nothing could be done) and Commissionated to go up to *London*, *Dumfermling*, *Loudon*, the Sheriff of *Tivildale* and Mr. *Robert Berkley* Burges of *Iswin*, who began their Journey *Jan.* 31.

The next emergent concerned two of his Majesty's Ships, which upon the 5th arrived in *Lieith* Road, and sent a Messenger ashore, to deliver the Provost and Bayliffs of *Edinburgh* a Letter from his Majesty, wherein he commanded them under pain of Treason, to convey with a strong guard to the Castle of *Edinburgh* the Men and Furniture which was in the Ships,

The

The Provost and Bayliffs having consulted the Noblemen and others that were in Town, got their allowance to obey the command, and so upon the 12th day they were safely convey'd to the Castle, being in Number 130 Soldiers, Muskets 25, with as many Pikes, with some Canon, Powder, &c.

And upon the Morrow was sent up (to shew his Majesty their ready obedience) *George Walschop* Burges, who returning upon *February 26*, reported, that upon the 20th day the Commissioners had kissed the King's hand, but that he refus'd to hear them, and had appointed them to give in writing to the Earl of *Traquair* whatsoever they would say: As also that the
 * desired Commissioners * *willed* him to advertise their Friends at home to expect War; the King having (for getting assistance thereto) call'd a Parliament in *England* to meet *April 13*.

Whereupon (without any farther certainty) were sent for all the Noblemen, Commissioners of Shires and Burghs, and leading Ministers to convene at *Edinburg* upon *March* the 10th, and being met, concluded the levying of an Army; and ordered the Ministers present to advise the Brethren throughout the Land to frame their Doctrine accordingly.

The harmony at this conclusion was not so cordial as the Year before; for, seeing Religion was now (according to their desires) settled both in Assembly and Parliament; they could hardly perswade Men to believe it to be the state of the Question; many conceived the Design to be against the King, and whisper'd * *anent* it; but * *about* they on the other side † *waxed* the † *grew* more

more insolent and bold, by reason of an Advertisement they received of what had befallen the Commissioners at *London*, for they had certainty that the Lord *Loudon* was imprisoned in the Tower; and the rest arrested and delivered in keeping to several; the occasion whereof was this.

The Parliament of *England* having met *April* 13th, the King in his Speech enveigh'd against the Proceedings of the *Scots*, and produced a Letter subscrib'd in *April* 1639 by many of their great Ones to the King of *France* for his assistance; which Letter had come to his Majesty's hands by this providence. At the subscribing of it there happened to be some of the great Men absent, whom those present wish'd also might subscribe it: For which end they committed the Letter to Mr. *Archibold Johnston*, appointing him as he found opportunity to get their hands to it; but through negligence he lost it out of his Pocket, and so it pass'd from one to another, until it fell into Sir *Donald Gorram's* Hand, who deliver'd it to the Earl of *Traquair*, and he to the King.

The miscarriage of this Letter they supply'd afterwards by another of the same strain, to the *French* King, with one to Cardinal *Richlieu*, both which were sent to *France* by Mr. *Colvill*, Brother to Sir *Robert Colvill* of * *However Cleish*. * *Always* of that Letter which (thro' miscarriage) came to the King's Hand, he made his own use; and indeed the Parliament of *England* was so affected therewith, as to be concurring to that Course, which was taken with the *Scottish* Commissioners, wherein the Lord *Loudon* had a harder measure given him than the rest, because his Hand was found at the Letter.

This

This Emergent made those at home
 * *levying* more eager for * *getting* up of an Army, and so was there a general Meeting call'd, to be at *Edinburgh* upon *April* 16, for electing of Commanders to govern the Army.

Where, without any consideration, old *Lesley* was chosen General, as before; but tho' it was expected, that (because of the disaffection of many of the Noble Men, which began of late to appear) there should have been a great change of Officers, yet the contrary fell out, and the same who had formerly been in Charge were pitch'd upon; Sir was made Lieutenant General, *Montross* had two Regiments given him, one of Horse, the other of Foot, the Lord *Aierskin* the Regiment of *Sterlin* Shire, the Lord *Drummond* a Regiment in *Perth* Shire, and so forth of the rest.

Neither did they decline the Employments, which was thought as strange, and made many to apprehend they had some Design in it, to the prejudice of the Cause, altho' nothing appear'd thereof till afterwards.

There was also a Council of State chosen, and Orders sent to the several Shires to chuse Councils of War therein, and to hasten the Levies.

Whereunto they were much encouraged by the News, which upon the 11th. of *May* *John Haldan*, Servant to the Lord *Loudon*, brought down, that upon *May* 5 the King had rais'd the Parliament of *England*, because they refus'd a Subsidy for invading this Country, until their own Grievances were first redress'd.

As also, that since the raising of the Parliament, the King had caus'd some Members thereof to be Imprison'd, whereupon the Apprentices in *London*

don went (in an Uproar) to *Lambeth* and search'd for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but found him not, (he having escaped to the Court at *Whitehall*) and therefore they affixed upon the Court Gates, and other publick places these Lines.

Let King and Queen. do what they can,
Yet Laud shall die like Dr. Lamb.

Upon *May 27* return'd home *Dumfermling*, with the Sheriff of *Tiviotdale*, and Mr. *Robert Barclay*; the Lord *Loudon* being still in the Tower.

And in regard the *Scotch* Parliament had been upon the 1st. of *November* prorogued by his Majesty's Commissioner till the 2 day of *June*, there came upon *May 28* from the King a Letter to some Lords of his Privy Council, in whom he yet confided, to prorogue it again by his Authority until *July*; those Lords consulted his Majesty's Advocate * *arent* it, who * *about* resolv'd them, that his Majesty's Warrant sent to them for prorogation was so * *informal*, that it could not subsist * *irregular* in Law, and therefore they did not urge the prorogation.

In it General *Ruthven* was fore faulted, for refusing to surrender the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and all his Money, (wherein his Estate consisted) effected to the Publick.

As also a great Committee of Estates was chosen, twelve of every Estate, whereof one half to be with the General in the Camp, to dispose of Military Affairs, and the other half to remain at *Edinburgh*, for ruling Matters at home. Mr. *Adam* * *Sepburn* chosen Clerk to * *Hepburn* that Committee, who going to the

Field

Field with the General, deputed one Mr. Robert Hepburn to serve the Committee at *Edinburgh*, who so enrich'd himself thereby, that being formerly very poor, he did shortly after purchase the Barony of *Keith*, Marischal in East Lothian.

Upon the 11th. of *June* the Parliament adjourn'd until the 19th. of *November* next, that in the mean time they might employ themselves in advancing the Levies.

And the Committee of Estates, being shortly after sate down, they sent a peremptory Advertisement to the several Shires, to cause their Regiments to March forwards without delay, where in the way they might expect the Generals Orders concerning the time and place of a Rendezvous.

Like as the Ministers residing at *Edinburgh* for publick Affairs, wrote to the several Presbyteries, to bestir themselves in their Pulpits and otherways for accelerating the same.

And that they might have wherewith to encourage Soldiers of Fortune at their going out, the Committee found out a pretty Overture for raising Money, which was, that who had * *Silver Work* should bring in the same to the Publick to be Coin'd, and the owners to receive Bonds from Noble Men and others for the worth thereof.

This relish'd ill at first with the Rich Burghers, but when once the Ministers undertook the management hereof, by their Preaching in publick, and private Trafficking with their Wives, they became so forward in obeying the same, as made the Royalists to liken it to the Golden Calf. Mr. *Alexander Gibson* of *Dury jun.* being made Commissioner General, received all.

Neither

Neither were they more ready to lend, than Noblemen and Gentlemen were to give Bond; * *whereanent* some prophesied, <sup>* in refer-
ence where-
unto</sup> that they would possibly repent it, before the Work were at an end, which indeed came to pass.

And it was observed, that of all others the prime Committee Men subscribed the fewest Bonds, and *Argile*, (who was the chief) none at all, which was then little observed, in regard the giddiness of the times was such, that Men thought it a Credit to be taken notice of so far by them, as to be desired to put their Hands to the Bonds.

† *Always* hereby they obtain'd great Sums, and the Joy they had therefore † *However* was much augmented, by my Lord *London's* return from his Imprisonment, who arriv'd at *Edinburgh* July 3. My Lord *Hamilton* having been the Man that procur'd his Liberty, Royalists thought he might have a Design in it for his own good, having thereby oblig'd this Nation.

By this time the whole Regiments were Marched Southward, and upon the 27th. of *July* were brought together in *Thansley Wood*.

Where, by common consent, it was resolv'd to March into *England*, a Declaration being first sent before, wherein they obtested the All-seeing God, that they intended not the least diminution of the King's Honour and Greatness, nor any prejudice or hurt to *England*, but only to seek their Peace.

And it being concluded that *Argile's* Highlanders should not be taken along with the Army to *England*, his Lordship procur'd an Employment for them at home; for the People of *Athol*, and the *Ogilbys* in the Brays of *Argyll*, being suspected to carry no good Will to the Cause, a Commission

mission was given to the Earl of *Argile* to take Orders with them.

So he levy'd three Regiments; (whereof two were his own Men, and the third *Glenurcharts*) and therewith March'd forward to the Ford of *Li-on*; upon the notice whereof, the Earl of *Athol* drew his People together, (reckon'd to be about 1200) and Encamp'd † *for-*
 † *over a-* *gainst him* *nent him.*

By this *Argile* concluded that the *Athol* Men had a mind to Fight, whereunto neither himself nor his People were thought very willing; and therefore finding the occasion of Sir *Patrick Ogil-*
by of *Inshmartine* at the *Ballach*, *Argile* employ'd him to draw the Matter to a Treaty, which he went about, and (being the Earl of *Athol*'s Brother in Law) prevail'd so far, that having, (accord-
 ing to the Warrant which *Argile* gave him) assur'd them of safe access and recess, the Earl of *Athol*, and with him eight special Gentlemen of his Country, went with *Inshmartin* to the Earl of *Argile*'s Tent, conferr'd with him at length upon the Business, and having receiv'd from him some Articles to be advis'd upon, left him for that time,
 * *much dis-* to go back to their People, who were
 pleas'd very * *ill minded*, and would † *fair*
 † *gladly* have had a Bout with the *Argilians*.

But having pass'd his inner Guards, when they came to the outward Guard they were stopp'd; whereupon they return'd to the Earl's Tent to complain, but he reply'd, *That his Guard was wiser than himself, he being to lye that Night at Glenurichart's House, it was fit they should go with him, and there confer at length*: And that Complement being pass'd, he told them plainly they were his Prisoners; and when they reply'd, *That*
they

they came thither upon his assurance, (signify'd to them by the Laird of Ishmartin) which they hoped he would not violate; he answered, That he was not to debate with them * thereanent, * concerning but would be accountable for his deportment in that Affair to those from whom he had his Commission; so without more ado he commanded them to send an Order to their People to disband, which was done.

And they themselves kept that Night as Prisoners at *Ballach*, and next day sent with a Convey to the Earl of *Perth*, Steward of *Strathern*, requiring him to send them to *Sterlin*, which he did; from thence they were convey'd to *Edinburgh*, where for some days they were Imprison'd, until they gave assurance of their good Behaviour, and then they were enlarg'd, and permitted to return home.

And as they were very sensible of the Trick which *Argile* had put upon them, in drawing them to his Tent, upon assurance, and afterwards * *flinching* from it, so the same * *retraiſing* wrong'd his Credit exceedingly, in the Judgment of all Men that look'd indifferently upon it, and made his † *Paroll* afterwards † *Promise* to be little regarded.

But he cared for none of those things, and so began to March downwards to the *Brays* of *Angus*, altho' he knew there was little Work for his Highlanders there, for the House of *Airly*, which was the only place that (in those Fields) had been Fortify'd for the King's Service, was surrender'd to the Earl of *Montrose* before his Marching to the South, who had plac'd therein Collonel *Sibbald*, and writ to the Earl of *Argile*, that he need-

† in their
Hands, or
Possession.

ed not to be at the pains to draw his People thither, seeing the House was already † gain'd.

But the Earl of *Argile*, (whether it was to disoblige *Montrofs*, or to keep his Highlanders in exercise, I shall not determine) did nevertheless advance, and coming before the House, call'd Colonel *Sibbald* to come forth and speak with him, which he did, (being at that time on the same side of the Cause) whereupon *Argile* commanded to cast open the Gate and bring his Soldiers forth.

So upon *July* the 6th. *Argile* return'd to his House, and stay'd there for a Week, his Highlanders in the mean time Pillaging all the Country about very miserably.

And thereafter, having dismantled and slighted the House, he did upon the 14th. lead them Northward to *Glenylle*, where they burnt *Forther*, another House belonging to the Earl *Airly*, and from thence return'd homeward, laden with as much Plunder as they were able to transport.

Upon the last Tuesday of *July* the general Assembly sate down at *Aberdeen*, without any Commission from his Majesty.

Where the first thing that occur'd was, the receiving of Mr. *John Patterson* of *Foveren* into the Covenant; he had at first fled to *England* to avoid it, but shortly after repented, and came home again, and upon his application to his Presbytery, was referr'd to the general Assembly, before which he made a Recantation Sermon, where-with the Assembly profess'd to have so full satisfaction, that he was receiv'd to their Fellowship.

The next thing done therein was, an Act against Conventicles, (call'd by the owners thereof private Meetings) which was upon this occasion.

As

As soon as Episcopacy had been thrust out of this Church, there came from *England* one *Thomas Levingston*, a Taylor, and another, one Mr. *Cornell*, a Chirurgeon, (both suppos'd to favour the Brownistical way) and from *Ireland* a * *fleet* of *Scottish* People, who being * *fleet* dissatisfy'd with the Forms of that Church; had long ago forsaken the publick Assemblies thereof, and betaken themselves to Conventicles; of those the most eminent were the Laird of *Lecky*, and one *John Kelsoe*; these arriving in the West of *Scotland* † *traffick'd* † *dealt* with the People in those parts, to comply to their way of seeking Edification by private Meetings; wherein their success was the greater; in that Mr. *David Dick*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, and others, were said to countenance them therein.

Upon the hearing whereof, the soundest of the Ministers throughout the Land were deeply affected, (doubting that Course might lead to Brownism in the end) such as Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *William Colvill*, Mr. *David Dalgleish*, Mr. *Robert Knox*, Mr. *Edward Wright*, Mr. *Henry Guthrie*, and many more, especially Mr. *David Calderwood*, (who in the time of his exile had seen the wild follies of the *English* Brownists in *Arnheim* and *Amsterdam*) and therefore at the former general Assembly in *Edinburgh*, in the Year 1639, these purpos'd to have had an Act against the same; but Mr. *David Dick*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, and the rest of their Stamp, oppos'd that Motion, and propos'd instead thereof, that there should be a Conference, whereby Brethren might unite their judgments upon the Question, and afterwards by

private Admonition they would prevail with those People to amend what was amiss.

This was hearken'd to, and the Conference was at Mr. *Alexander Henderson's* Chamber, where were present on the one part the said Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, Mr. *David Calderwood*, Mr. *William Colvill*, Mr. *David Dalglish*, Mr. *Edward Wright*, and Mr. *Henry Guthry*; on the other part, Mr. *David Dick* Moderator of the general Assembly, Mr. *Robert Blair*, Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, Mr. *James Hamilton*, Mr. *John Levinston*, Mr. *John Macklellan*, and Mr. *George Dick*; and after Reasoning at several Diets, in the end Mr. *Dick* and all his adherents pass'd from the point, and agreed unanimously to this Conclusion, viz.

That whatsoever had been the effects of private Meetings of Persons from divers Families for Religious Exercise in time of Trouble or Corruption, (in which Case many things may be commendable, which otherwise are not tolerable) yet now when God hath Bless'd us with Peace, and with the Purity of the Gospel, they could not but disallow them, as tending to the hindrance of the Exercises of each Family by it self, to the prejudice of the publick Ministry, and to the rending of particular Congregations, and by progress of time of the whole Kirk, besides many Offences that may come thereby, to the hardning of the Hearts of Natural Men, and the grief of the Godly.

This Conclusion being agreed upon, was subscrib'd in all their Names that had been upon the Conference, by Mr. *Alexander Henderson* for the
one

one part, and Mr. *David Dick* for the other, and the custody of the Paper committed to Mr. *Henry Guthrie*.

Like as Mr. *David Dick*, and his adherents, did undertake, by their Admonitions, to reclaim these Conventiclers, and make them leave that way.

Whereupon the Brethren of the other part went from the Conference well satisfy'd, but the event declar'd they made no Conscience of what they had undertaken, and that whatsoever they had condescended to, was only to put by that Assembly.

For afterwards they were so far from performing what they had promis'd, that their Admonitions turn'd to Encouragements, whereby the Conventiclers grew more bold than formerly, and prevail'd with People so generally throughout the West, that they met with no rub, until they came the length of *Sterlin*, where they found so harsh entertainment, as made them quickly to withdraw, esteeming that Town an unhallowed place, yet elsewhere they found welcome enough, (even in *Edinburgh* it self) where their way came to be so cry'd up, that such as favour'd, or kept those private Meetings, were by the rigid sort esteem'd the Godly of the Land, and others that opposed them were calumniated, being (in their reckoning) † *unfriends* to Piety. † *Enemies*

Hereupon the general Assembly in *Aberdeen* did take the Matter into Consideration, whether those private Meetings should be allow'd or condemn'd; Mr. *Dick*, *Rutherford*, and others of their Stamp, pleaded so vehemently for them, (having the assistance not only of the most part of the Ministers, but also the Ruling Elders from the West) that

it was likely they must have carry'd it, had not (by Providence) Mr. *Guthry* happen'd to have in his Pocket that Paper which contain'd the Judgment of the Brethren, (at the Conference at *Edinburgh* the Year preceding) upon the Question, which was subscrib'd by Mr. *Henderson* and Mr. *Dick* in all their Names: Mr. *Guthry* kept up this Paper, until he saw the Business in hazard to miscarry, but then produc'd it in the Assembly, and being read, and Mr. *Dick's* Hand found to be at it, for himself and all his Party, Mr. *Dick* and his adherents were pleas'd afterwards to be silent, and very unanimously the Assembly made an Act against those private Meetings, not so much as one Man protesting to the contrary.

Thereafter the Assembly appointed a Solemn Fast to be kept throughout the Kingdom, for a Blessing upon the Army.

And so the Assembly rose upon the 6th. of *August*, having first appointed the next general Assembly to sit at *St. Andrews* upon the third Tuesday of *July* 1641.

Upon Friday *August* 21 the *Scotch* Army enter'd *England*, the Earl of *Montrose's* leading the Van, did (to encourage his Soldiers) alight from his Horse and go through the River of *Tweed* on foot; howbeit many thought that in his Heart he was turn'd Royalist.

Upon the 28th. of *August* the *Scotch* Army obtain'd a Signal Victory at *Newburn* Ford upon *Tyne*, which was after this manner.

The Earl of *Strafford*, General of the King's Army, (which then lay at *York*) had sent the Lord *Conway* with 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse to guard that Pass, so that when the *Scots* came up, they found them so Fortify'd on the other side of the River,

River, that it would prove very difficult to beat them from their Works; yet they resolv'd to attempt it, and the first Party that was appointed to advance, was the College of Justice's Troop, (call'd the General's Lifeguard) Commanded by Sir *Thomas Hope* younger, Son to the King's Advocate, (whom his Father had bred, as also all the rest of his Children, towards the love of that Cause). but Sir *Thomas* and his Troop were scarce well enter'd the Ford, before they wheel'd about and retir'd with discredit.

Then succeeded a Gallant Man, Major *Ballantine*, who, (having with him but a very small Party) with undaunted Courage went through, beat the *English* from their Works, and clear'd the passage for the whole Army to cross over and fall upon the *English*, who fled with that haste, that 80 of them only were slain upon the place, and 40 taken Prisoners.

The rest of that day was spent in Expressions of Joy for the Victory, and next day they were saluted by Commissioners from *Newcastle*, come hither to Treat for the surrender of the Town.

So upon Sunday *August 30* the *Scotch* Army enter'd *Newcastle*, where they found the King's Magazine, both of Arms and Victuals, as also an opportunity of enlarging Mr. *Colvill*, who had been sent by them to *France* with Letters to the *French* King and Cardinal *Richlieu*, and in his return happen'd to be catch'd at *Berwick*, and from thence was sent Prisoner to *Newcastle*.

That day Mr. *Henderson* Preach'd in the great Church of *Newcastle*, and after Sermon the General and Noblemen were Feasted by the Mayor.

So there was great Joy among the *Scots* there, but that very day there fell out a sudden and sad

Accident at home; the Earl of *Haddington* having
 avowedly fallen from the King's side,
 † *Command* and taken † *Charge* under *Lesley*, was
 left at home with his Regiment, to
 wait upon the Motion of the Garrison of *Berwick*,
 and for that end kept his Quarters at *Dunglafs*,
 † *Court or* where about mid-day, he being return'd
 † *Yard* from the Fields, and standing in the † *Close*
 * *more or* with 60 Gentlemen, or * *thereupon* a-
 * *less* bout him, the Castle of *Dunglafs* was
 blown up with Powder, (the Maga-
 zine being kept therein) and one of the Walls there-
 of falling that way, did in an instant carry him
 and all his Company to the Ground, and cover
 them so, that they were never more seen.

This Tragical Emergence was constructed, ac-
 cording as Men were affected to the Cause; when
 news of it came to the Court, the Royalists there
 were not (by far) so moderate as the King him-
 self, whose sharpest Expression was,
 * *though* That * *albeit* he had been very ungrate-
 ful to him, yet he was sorry he had not
 at his dying some time to repent.

Upon the morrow after the Scots Army had
 enter'd *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Lothian* was made
 Governor thereof, having for that Service the
 Command of 2000 Soldiers allow'd him; and that
 Trust he well deserv'd, for his Zeal to
 * *though* the Cause was such, that * *albeit* both
 his Father and himself owed to the
 King whatsoever Wealth or Greatness they had,
 yet was he one of the first that engag'd against
 him, and still continu'd most forward of any.

Unto the Scots Army was granted for allow-
 ance for every day Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds
 Sterling, whereof 300*l.* to be paid out of *Nor-*
thumberland,

thumberland, 350*l.* out of the Bishoprick, and 200*l.* out of the Town of *Newcastle per diem*.

And the Army being thus provided for, the General and his Committee, (for making good what they had averr'd in their Declaration from *Chau-sley Wood*) resolv'd upon a Supplication to be sent to his Majesty, then at *York*, for redress of their Grievances; and the same being subscrib'd, was enclos'd in a Letter directed to the Earl of *Lan-rick*, Secretary, (to be by him presented to the King) and the carriage of it committed to one Named *Cathcart*.

The King's answer by his Secretary was, That his Majesty had call'd a Meeting of the Peers of *England* to be at *York* *September* 24, before which time he will'd them to set down their Demands in particular, and then to expect a particular answer.

In obedience whereto, having * *con-* * *agreed*
descended upon their demands, they did upon the 8th of *September* send them to his Majesty by *William Flemming*, Son to the Earl of *Wigton*, upon the hearing whereof, and other pressing reasons, General *Ruthven* did Condition for himself and all his Soldiers, that their Lives should be safe, and they to come with cock'd Matches, and have safe Conduct to *Berwick*; all which was performed to him.

These Emergents were very refreshful to the Covenanters, but there fell out at that time one thing which exceeded them all.

For that very day, upon which the King received the *Scottish* Supplication, there was also presented to him a Supplication Sign'd by several Peers of *England* (in Number about Twelve) wherein they craved a Parliament for Redress of Grievances,

Grievances, and settling Peace betwixt the Nations : When the report thereof came hither, then did the Zealots say, that *Haddington* and *Mr. Borthwick* had not laboured in vain, and that the Work would shortly begin in that Kingdom also.

The King was said to be much affected with the *English* Supplication, yet did his Majesty give it a fair and delaying answer, until the meeting of the Peers.

And when they had met his Majesty at *Tor* September 24th, the conclusion was, that a Parliament should Sit at *London* upon *November* 13th, and in the mean time a Treaty with the *Scots* to begin *October* 1st, and the place of meeting to be at *Rippon*.

There were nominated of *English* to be upon the Treaty 15 Noblemen (whereof most had had sign'd the Petition) viz. the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, *Bristol*, *Holland*; and Lords *Wharton*, *Paget*, *Kimbolton*, *Brook*, *Pawlet*, *Howard of Escrick*, *Savil* and *Dunsmoor* : And for the *Scots*, the Earl of *Dumferling*, the Lord *Londore*, the Laird of *Wachlon*, the Sheriff of *Tiviotdale*, *John Smith Bayliff* of *Edinburgh*, *Mr. Alexander Wedderburn* Clerk of *Dundee*, *Mr. Alexander Henderson* and *Mr. Archibald Johnston*.

The Treaty being met at *Rippon* *October* 1st, did upon the 16th thereof conclude upon a cessation of Arms until *December* 16th, and that the Treaty should remove from *Rippon* to *London*, to be prosecuted there in time of Parliament, ratifying in the mean time that proportion granted to the *Scotch* Army of 850*l.* *per diem*, and the payment thereof Weekly to be upon each Friday.

Whilst

Whilst all things thus prosper'd with the *Scots*, there happened an Emergent in their Army, which threatn'd a Rent, for divers of the Nobility, such as *Montross*, *Ereskin*, *Drummond* and others, quarrell'd that they were neglected in the matter of Consultation, and that Business was contriv'd and carry'd on by a few : Upon the other part, *Montross* was challeng'd for writing Letters to the King without the knowledge of the General and Committee; the Copies of which Letters they had, being sent them (as many deem'd) by some Bed-chamber Man, who search'd the King's Pockets when he was asleep.

The Rigid Faction knew that my Lord *Almond*, Lient. General, was in his heart concurring with *Montross* and his Associates, and so consider'd, that if any provocation was given them, they were able to make a Division in the Army : For preventing whereof, they condescended to a fair Transaction for that time, viz. that
 * *by gones* on both sides should be * *things past*.
 passed by, and Matters thereafter publickly carried on without neglect or disrespect of any.

The Parliament of *England* met at *Westminster* Nov. 3d. To the *Scots* Commissioners that formerly Treated at *Rippon*, were added by common consent the Earl of *Rothes*, the Laird of *Riccarton*, *Hugh Kennedy* Burgeses of *Air*, who, with the rest went to *London* to prosecute the Work.

Upon *November* 19th, the *Scots* Parliament assembled, and having re-establish'd the Committee, Adjourn'd till the 14th of *January* 1641.

The Committee being sat down at *Edinburgh*, had News which pleas'd them well, viz. that the E. of *Stafford* was * *Challeng'd* * *Impeach'd* and

and made Prisoner (which having been further'd by the *Scotch* Commissioners, was esteem'd very good Service) as also that shortly thereafter the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had that same measure given him, but that the L. Keeper *Finch*, and Secretary *Windebank*, had escap'd their hands by flight.

Those Commitments proceeded chiefly from the

* *Members* * *Knights* of the Lower House, who were Solicitors to the House of Peers thereanent.

And having engaged so far against his Majesty's Servants, they were the more careful to oblige the *Scotch* Army to stand sure. For which end they borrowed from the *Londoners* Fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and sent

* as a Present it in a * *Propine* to the General and his Committee; to be distributed by them throughout the Army: And this gratuity to be altogether without prejudice to the 850*l.* *Sterling* payable to them, and this was done in *December*.

1641.

UPON the 14th of *January* 1641. the *Scots* Parliament met again, and having re-establish'd the Committee of Estates, adjourn'd until the 13th of *April*.

After which the Committee being set down, the principal business that came to be consider'd, concern'd * a *Band* found to be amongst a Number of Noblemen, wherein they had combin'd to oppose the Course of those that ruled all.

This

This Band had been fram'd at *Cumrinald*, there being present the Earls of *Montrofs*, *Wigton*, Lords *Flemming*, *Boyd* and *Almond*, all which Subscrib'd it first; and afterwards *Montrofs* drew to it the Earls of *Mareschal*, *Mar*, *Athol*, *King-born*, *Perth*, *Hume*, *Seaforth*; and the Lords *Stormont*, *Erskin*, *Drummond*, *Ker*, *Nappier*, and divers others. But long thereafter the Band was kept up as a Secret, only their liberal talking for the King's Interest and against *Argile*, and the rest, with the Ministers that were of their Party, made many apprehend that there must be some Tie amongst them, and at length the Lord *Boyd* being a Dying, whisper'd something * *anent* it, (which gave Men occasion to search) but was not so clear as to resolve them. * *concerning*

Whereupon the Earl of *Argile* taking the occasion of my Lord *Almond's* being at home at *Calendar*, came thither, and having staid two Nights with him, had a full relation of the Business.

And the Discovery being by *Argile* reported to the Committee, *Montrofs*, and so many of the Banders as happen'd to be at home at that time, were cited to appear.

They acknowledg'd the Band, and gave their reasons why they had joined in it; all which were rejected by the Committee, and they declared censurable.

And indeed some of the Ministers and other fiery Spirits, pressed that their Lives might go for it. But *Argile* and his Committee consider'd that they were too strong a Party to meddle with that way, especially seeing divers of them having the Command of Regiments in the Army

my; and therefore they consulted to pack up the business upon a Declaration under their hands, that they intended nothing against the publick, together with a surrendring of the Band, which the Committee having gotten, caused it to be burnt.

In the mean time the King and the Scots Commissioners at *London* were in good Terms, and they waited frequently upon him, whereby he imagin'd they had been in a way of Relenting; but they soon gave him cause to change his Opinion: For without so much as acquainting him therewith, they emitted a Declaration, wherein they express'd their * *forwardness* against Episcopacy in *England*, and for the Earl of *Strafford's* Blood and *Canterbury's*. His Majesty took this very ill at their hands, but could not help it.

The Scots Parliament sate again *April* 13th, and having re-establish'd the Committee, *Pro-rogued* to the 25th of *May*.

And the Committee of Estates being sitting, received from those at *London* upon the 19th of *May* the certainty of the Earl of *Strafford's* Execution, who being condemn'd of Treason, had been beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*, *May* 12th.

The Scots Parliament sate again upon *May* 25th, and having re-establish'd the Committee, Adjourn'd of new to the 15th of *July*, in regard of the advertisement they had from the Commissioners at *London*, that the King purpos'd to be present at that Session of Parliament, as also the King himself did write to the Lords of his Council and the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to make preparation for him.

After the Adjournment, the Committee of Estates

states late presently down upon the 26th of *May*, where there came before them an unfortunate business : It begun at Mr. *John Graham* Minister of *Anchlarader*, who was challenged for a Speech utter'd by him in prejudice of the Earl of *Argile*, who acknowledg'd the Speech and gave for his Informer Mr. *Robert Murray* Minister at *Merthwen*, who being present, confess'd it, and gave for his Author the Earl of *Montross*.

Montross being challeng'd acknowledg'd it, and † *condescended* upon the † *agreed* Speech, viz. That when the Earl of *Athol*, and those 8 Gentlemen with him, (whom my Lord *Argile* made Prisoners) were in *Argile's* Tent at the Ford of *Lion*, *Argile* spoke publickly to this sense, *That they had consulted both Lawyers and Divines anent the deposing of the King, and gotten resolution that it might be done in three Cases, 1. Desertion. 2. Invasion. 3. Vendition. and that once they thought to have done it at the last sitting of Parliament, and would do it at the next sitting thereof.*

Montross gave up Mr. *John Stuart*, Commissary of *Dunkeld*, (one of those Gentlemen that was with the Earl of *Athol* in *Argile's* Tent) for the Author thereof, and did undertake to produce him.

Therefore, lest *Montross's* Enemies should have dealt with Mr. *John* to withdraw and leave him in the hazard, he posted quickly away some Gentlemen to Mr. *John*, with whom he came to *Edinburgh* upon the 30th. of *May*, and upon the morrow appear'd before the Committee, and subscribed a Paper bearing all that *Montross* had affirm'd in his Name; whereupon *Argile* broke out into a Passion, and with great Oaths deny'd the whole
and

and every part thereof, whereat many wonder'd:

* *Always* the Committee did send
 * *in the mean time* Mr. *John* Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and some days after my Lord *Balmerinock* and my Lord *Dury* being sent from the Committee to the Castle to examine him, they did try another way with him, and dealt with him, that he would rather take the Task upon himself, than let *Argile* lie under such a Blunder.

Being both profound Men, they knew well what Arguments to use for that effect, and Mr. *John* considering upon the one part, that *Argile's* power was such, that he could not only preserve his Life, but also raise him to preferment, if for the clearing him he should convict himself; and on the other part, *That a Wonder lasts but nine*

Nights in a Town, (as we use to say)
 † *agreed* therefore he † *condescended* to the Motion, and the next day wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Argile*, wherein he clear'd him of those Speeches, and acknowledg'd that himself had forg'd them out of Malice against his Lordship; and he likewise confess'd, that (by the Advice and Council of the Earl of *Montrose*, Lord *Napier*, Sir *George Sterlin* of *Kier*, and Sir *Andrew Stewart* of *Blackhall*) he had sent a Copy of those Speeches under his Hand to the King by one Captain *Walter Stuart*.

The Earl of *Argile* having communicated his Letter to the Committee, they set watches to attend that Captain's return, who catching him at *Cockburn's Path*, and finding his Letters, brought him and them both before the Committee, and being examin'd there, he was sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

Like

Like as thereafter upon the 11th. of *June* *Montross*, *Napier*, *Kier*, and *Blackhall*, being all cited before the Committee, were after Examination Imprison'd in the Castle, and the reward which Mr. *John Stuart* receiv'd for his pains was the loss of his Head, so the way which (out of a preposterous love to his Life) he chose for his preservation, turn'd to his destruction, which fell out upon this occasion.

The Earl of *Argile* and the Committee consulted Sir *Thomas Hope* and other Lawyers upon the Question, whether, seeing Mr. *John* had **afforded* his Lordship of those Speeches, **acquitted* and under his Hand had took upon himself the guilt of forging them, &c. it was fit that he should suffer, or on the other part be pardon'd and prefer'd.

The resolution was, That if Mr. *John* were spared, all Men would think that he had been brib'd to make that Recantation, and that therefore it was necessary, for *Argile's* Vindication, that he should suffer.

Whereupon the unfortunate Gentleman was in the Month of *July* condemn'd, and beheaded upon a Scaffold erected for that end at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

And it was observ'd, that at his dying he had not that Courage which is ordinary to Gallant Men at their Deaths, the reason whereof was constructed to be an inward discontent, for bearing false witness against himself, when he found that the course whereby he thought to have rescued himself from suffering prov'd the reason of it; this made him querulous against himself, as being the causer of his own death; and it was publickly talk'd that he express'd so much to divers

Friends, especially to Mr. *Guthry*, Minister of *Sterlin*, of whom he made choice to be assisting to him in his preparation for Death, and who for that end was with him alone in the Prison the day before his death from 3 a Clock in the Afternoon till 8, and the morrow, being the day whereon he died, from 10 a Clock in the morning till 3 in the Afternoon that he went to the Scaffold, where also, at his earnest desire, Mr. *Guthry* waited upon him, and left him not, until he received the Blow.

Upon *July 15* the *Scotch* Parliament sat down, where Letters from the King were read, excusing his not coming until the 15th. of *August*, after which it was resolv'd to adjourn no more, but that the Parliament should sit daily, in the mean time to prepare Matters against his coming; and the first thing done therein was, that Summons's were issued out against the Earl of *Montrose*, to appear before the Parliament upon *August 13*.

Whereupon *Montrose* desired the liberty of Advocates for Consultation, which was granted, but the most part of them were then so Bigotted, that none of any Eminence would come near him, and so necessity forc'd him to call for Mr. *John Gilmer*, whose greatest Employment formerly had been to agent the Affairs of Bishop *Sideserfe*; and some others of that Order; he consulted with *Montrose*; and albeit it was thought a small preferment for the time, yet afterwards it prov'd very profitable to him; for being once call'd his Advocate, other Royalists as they had occasion employ'd him, and so as their number encreas'd, his Employment encreas'd also, whereby at length he became very considerable.

By

By this time the Treaty at *London* was ended, and the return of the *Scotch* Commissioners daily expected, they having obtain'd all their desires, and amongst the rest, not only that the whole Arrears of 850*l.* payable daily to the *Scotch* Army should be satisfi'd before the first of *September*, against which time the Army was to disband, but also that **by* and *attour* * *over* and the same, the Parliament of *England* *above* should (under the name of Brotherly assistance) give unto the *Scots* the Sum of three hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, whereof eighty thousand Pound to be paid before the disbanding of the Army, and the rest thereof, amounting to 220000 *l.* to be paid at two terms, *viz.* the one half thereof at Midsummer 1642, and the other half at Midsummer 1643, as the Acts of the *English* Parliament thereanent, bearing Dates the 19 and 29 of *June* do report.

The News whereof was very acceptable to the Covenanters, especially the leading Men in State and Church, who knew their share would be therein : But Royalists were mightily dejected, through conceiving that the Parliament of *England* was not so prodigal, as to have granted such a Sum (where nothing was owing) unless they had thereby obtain'd from the *Scots* some secret engagement to be on their side, as soon as they should begin to stir.

Upon the 20th of *July* the General Assembly sat down at *St. Andrews*, and before the choice of a Moderator, transported it self to *Edinburgh*, where it was profecuted. And the reason given for this Novation, was, because the Noblemen Commissioned to be Ruling Elders therein, were to taken up with the affairs of Parliament at *Edinburgh*,

Edinburgh, that they could not come to *St. Andrews*; and therefore the Assembly behoved to go to them; as also *Mr. Alexander Henderson*, (whom they determin'd to be Moderator thereof) was yet but on his Journey returning from *London*, where he had attended the Treaty, so the Assembly behov'd to intermit some days until his arrival.

At length he came, and so upon the 17th the Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh*, he being chose Moderator thereof, and rose again *August 9th*.

The Earl of *Weems* was his Majesty's Commissioner at that Assembly, who comply'd with them in whatsoever they would.

Upon the 15th of *August* the Earl of *Montrose* was brought before the Parliament, and having reply'd to his charge, was continued till the 24th day, and was remitted to Prison. Like as *Sentences* were Issued forth against the Lord *Napier*, and the *Lairds of Kier* and *Black-Hall* to appear *August 20th*.

Upon the 14th of *August* the King came to *Holyrood-House* (accompany'd with the Prince *Palatine*, the Duke of *Lenox*, Marquess of *Hamleton*, Lord *Willoughby* and others) having in his way dined with General *Lestey* at *Newcastle*, and taken a view of the *Scotch Army* there.

Upon *Tuesday* the 17th, his Majesty came to the Parliament, and constantly sat there afterwards.

The Lord *Burleigh* having been President at the Current Sessions (who had gotten the Employment because he was an implicit follower of the Earl of *Argile*, tho' otherwise no great Plotter) was laid aside, and my Lord *Balmerinock* was elected President, who indeed had Parts for it.

Upon

Upon the Notice of his preferment thereto, there were different Conjectures, what his deportment would be towards the King, having Obligations more than any other; for his Father had been by King *James* prefer'd to be President of the Session, and Secretary of State, and afterwards also made Lord *Balmerinach*, to be deriv'd to his Eldest Son, now President of this Parliament, and his Second Son made Lord *Cooper*: And finally, when for abusing his Trust

* sent a Letter to the Pope, he was * about Condemn'd to suffer, the King gave him his Remission: And for this Lord *Balmerinach*, his Son, besides that his late Majesty continued to him his Father's Estate and Honour, the King that now Reigneth had lately express'd a singular Mercy to him; for being (because of that Paper reflecting upon his Majesty's Government, which in the 1633 he had framed, and came afterwards to be divulg'd) condemn'd to die, the gracious King repriev'd him, and in the end gave him a final Pardon.

Hereupon many judg'd that *Balmerinach* would be tender of the King's Interest, but they were mistaken; no obligations had that Influence upon him, to make him gratify his Majesty in the least. Sir *Robert Spotswood* President of the Session, and Sir *John Hay* Clerk Register, appear'd before the Parliament (having been cited as Incendiarys) and were sent Prisoners to the Castle.

As likewise upon the 24th, the Earl of *Montross* appear'd; and was continued *de novo*; as also the Lord *Napier*, the Laids of *Keer* and *Blackball* appear'd upon the 28th, and were continued likewise.

By this time the *Scotch* Army return'd home from *Newcastle* and was disbanded, being (before their removing) satisfy'd of all the Arrears of that Sum allow'd for their daily maintenance, as likewise having gotten the 80000 *l.* promis'd by the Parliament of *England* to be paid at that time, as a part of the Sum of 300000 *l.* *Sterling*, condition'd to the *Scots*, under the name of *Brotherly assistance*. And upon the 30th of *August*, arriv'd at *Edinburgh* Commissioners from the Parliament of *England*, to attend this Parliament, viz. the Lord *Howard*, and Four of the House of Commons.

Matters as yet went on very plausibly in Parliament, the King giving way to whatsoever they propos'd, and so their aims were disappointed for the present, until they press'd some such things as they suppos'd his Majesty would no ways agree to, whereby a Rent might have ensued.

At length upon a Rumour suggested to the Earl of *Argile* (as he affirm'd) concerning a Plot intended by *Lodovic* Earl of *Crawford*, Colonel *Cacheran*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, against the Marquis of *Hamleton* and him, they did upon *October* the 12th withdraw abruptly to *Kinneil*.

There wanted not enough, who suggested to the King, that the Plot was but pretended, their design being to make a publick Rupture, (presuming that upon their removal, the Parliament should presently have broken up) and it seems his Majesty was not without such an apprehension himself; for that day (after he heard they were gone) he came up to the Parliament in haste, accompany'd with many Nobles and above 500 Gentlemen that adhered to him, and in Parliament made a Speech, which reflected fore
upon

upon the Marquis of *Hamleton*, whereby he prevail'd, that the Parliament (notwithstanding their absence) fate still , and resolv'd not to break up.

Royalists laboured much with his Majesty to have declar'd them Enemys, and attempted something against them (which they thought was very feazible) but such was his Goodness, that instead thereof, he consented in Parliament to confine the three alledg'd Plotters, until they should be Try'd, and invited *Hamleton* and *Argile* to return; who next Day came to his Majesty at *Holyrood-House*, and kiss'd his Hand, being (as Royalists alledg'd) glad of an opportunity to come back, since the design fail'd of getting the Parliament broke up.

The Plot whereupon they went away being Try'd to the utmost, nothing was found in it, so that those three alledg'd Plotters were enlarg'd, and all the Ground which *Argile* could give for charging them therewith resolv'd in this, that one Colonel *William Stuart* (an *Orkney* Man) had inform'd him of it. But this Colonel *William Stuart* being generally known to be rash in his speaking, the Business became ridiculous, and many concluded, that they (who knew that *Stuart* well) would never have been so affected with any Information that proceeded from him, as to have taken that course, except there had been a Design in it.

However being return'd to the Parliament, there was no more stirring in it, his Majesty condescending to whatsoever they pleas'd to propose.

So that in relation to the Officers of State, they made an Act, that his Majesty might not dispose of them at his pleasure, but that the same should be settl'd with consent of Parliament, and accor-

ding thereto, the Lord *Loudon* was made Chancellor, which fell out upon this Occasion.

The King nominated the Earl of *Morton* to that Office, which his Son in Law the Earl of *Argile* in face of the Parliament oppos'd with much heat, whereupon his Majesty pass'd from it, and nominated *Loudon*, which the Parliament consented to.

Likewise the King nominated the Lord *Almond* to be Treasurer, but was likewise opposed, so his Majesty agreed to that which the Parliament press'd, viz. that the Office should be discharg'd by a Committee of Four, viz. *Argile*, *Glencarn*, *Lothian*, and *Lindsey*.

The Earl of *Roxbrough* was by the Parliament continued Lord Privy Seal: for altho' himself had from the beginning sided with the King, yet he was not thought a great Enemy to the Cause, in regard his only Son *Henry* Lord *Ker* did in the Year 1639 very unreasonably leave the King, and joined himself to the Covenanters, (while his Majesty's Army lay at the *Birks*, and theirs at *Dunee-Law* in his Majesty's view) which the Royalists thought he would not have done (his Father being such an awful Man) without his connivance.

The Earl of *Lanerick* by consent of Parliament was settled in the Office of *Secretary of State*, and Sir *James Galloway* secluded therefrom, who till then pretended to it.

Sir *James Carmichael* was continued Treasurer Deputy, which he well deserv'd at the Covenanters hands, for that tho' he was the King's Creature (having been formerly his Carver, and afterwards prefer'd, first to be Justice Clerk, and then Deputy Treasurer) yet was he as forward in the Cause as any.

Sir

Sir Thomas Hope continued to be the King's Advocate, who did the Covenanters better Service than he was willing should be known; yet by his flattering Carriage, insinuated so far with his Majesty, that (against Information enough) his Majesty was ruled by him in most of the affairs which passed under his hand: Whereby he (being mercenary) did exceedingly enrich himself.

Mr. Alexander Gibson of Dury Junior, was Knighted, and made Clerk Register, and *Sir John Hamleton of Orbiston* continued Justice Clerk.

It was also Enacted in Parliament, that the Nomination of Privy Counsellors should be with consent of Parliament: And according thereto, an Election being presently made, some of the Ancient Nobility were kept in, whom (for the Emergency of their Place) they were assur'd to callier: But there was an addition made of many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and of some Burghers, all forward in the Cause; whereby the major part of the Council (as now constituted) being for them, they were sure their Cause should afterwards receive no prejudice by the Acts thereof.

It was also Enacted, that the Places of the Session should be fill'd with consent of Parliament: And there being Four of the Lords thereof who had adher'd to the King, viz. President *Spotswood*, *Sir John Hay*, *Sir Patrick Nisbit*, and *Sir William Elphinston*; they were all presently depos'd, and in their room, were placed *Sir John Lesley of Newton*, *Sir Thomas Hope Junior* (who was also made Justice General) *Mr. Adam Hepburn*, and *Mr. Archibald Johnston* (Clerk to the General Assembly) both which were Knighted, as also the last of them *Mr. Johnston* had a liberal Pension allow'd him.

There

There was also another Judicature established by Parliament, under the Name of Conservators of the Peace (their Employment being to Order all things, whereby the Peace of the Land, and with the Neighbour Kingdom might be preserv'd) and this consisted of all the prime Covenanters.

There was also a Committee appointed, for receiving from the Parliament of *England* the Sum of 220000*l.* conditioned to be paid at Terms under the name of Brotherly assistance; and upon that Commission many were nominated, whereof but a few were called for, when the Sum was receiv'd and distributed.

There was also a Committee nominated to sit after the rising of Parliament, for Tryal of the Earl of *Montrose*, and of the rest of the Royalists then Prisoners in the Castle; and the said Committee was to report whatsoever should be found against them to the King; for the Parliament having remitted their Censure to him, thereupon at the rising of the Parliament they were all enlarg'd upon Security to attend that Committee, as they should be call'd for; like as the Bishop of *Murray*, Prisoner in the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*, was also enlarg'd, and General *Ruthven* was restor'd from his foresalture; but nothing was done for the restoring of his Mony.

The King also bestow'd Honours upon divers of them, the Earl of *Argile* was made Marquess, General *Lesley* made Earl of *Leven* and Keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, Lord *Lindsey* made Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord *Loudon* Earl of *Loudon*, Lord *Almond* made Earl of *Calender*, the Lairds of *Dudo* and *Arbuthnot* made Viscounts, and Mr. *Andrew Murray* of *Ebdie*, having
been

been by *David Viscount Stormont*, preferr'd to the Lairdships of *Balvaird*, and afterwards in the Year 1633 Knighted by his Majesty, was now made Lord *Balvaird*.

Many also of the Prime Covenanters obtain'd great Pensions, but one thing was remarkable, wherein the King only shew'd himself wilful; and this was concerning my Lord *Balmerinoch*. His Majesty was press'd by them to take notice of him, and to gratifie him either with some Honour, Office or Pension : And indeed his Majesties Friends advis'd him, that since he chose that way to gain his Enemys by conferring Favours on them, he would not neglect him. But nothing could be said, prevail'd with his Majesty towards that end, so sensible was he of *Balmerinoch's* Ingratitude.

The King's Bounty was also extended to Churchmen (to whom he ow'd as little as to any) Mr. *Henderson*, most eminent amongst the Covenanted Brethren, had bestow'd upon him the Rent of the Chapel Royal (esteem'd formerly a Morsel sufficient for a Bishop) Mr. *Gillespie* had a large Pension settled upon him : The Professors in the Universities had their Provisions liberally augmented by the Revenues formerly belonging to the Bishops; as also out of the same, large Portions were allow'd to the Cathedral Churches throughout the Land.

And for obliging the rest of the Ministry to continue fixt in the Cause, the Parliament ordain'd a Commission to sit in *January* next, to enlarge their Stipends, and bring them unto a Competence.

By this time certainty came of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, whereupon the *English* Commissioners desir'd

desir'd the King to accelerate his return to *England*, which the Parliament assented to, as also offer'd to raise an Army, and to send it over, for helping to suppress it, provided the Parliament of *England* would be at the Charge of entertaining the same; the *English* Commissioners applauded the Motion, and desired the Parliament might appoint Commissioners to repair to *London*, to Treat upon the Conditions; so there were nominated to go up, the Earls of *Lothian* and *Lindsey*, and the Lord *Balmerinoch*, Sir *Thomas Myrleton* of *Cambo*, Sir *Thomas Hope jun.* Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Sir *Thomas Smith* Bayliff of *Edinburgh*, *Patrick Bell* Provost of *Glasgow*, and Mr. *Robert Barclay* Provost of *Irwin*, who were all so furious in the Cause, as made Royalists to talk boldly, that besides the *Irish* Business, they would kindle a Fire in *England* ere they return'd.

This Election of Commissioners being * *sent'd* or * *expede* in Parliament November 16, *perfected* the next day an Act was made for a publick Thanksgiving, to be kept throughout the Kingdom, upon the 19th. of *January* next, for the happy Peace now establish'd; and so the Parliament rose upon Wednesday the 17th.

In the close whereof the Earl of *London*, in the Names of the Nobility, and Sir *Thomas Hope jun.* in Name of the Gentry, made Congratulatory Speeches to his Majesty, for giving them full satisfaction in all things concerning Religion and Liberty; so that now a contented King was to depart from a contented Country, and the Cannon of the Castle were discharg'd, as an eccho to their Discourses.

As also that Night in the great Hall of *Holyrood House* the King Feasted all the Nobility, after

ter which were mutual Farewells, and the next Morning early his Majesty began his Journey towards London.

After his departure Mens Judgments were very different * *amongst* the way * *concerning* his Majesty had taken, in bestowing such Favours upon his Adversaries, and making them the predominant Party in all Judicatures; for albeit all agreed in this Opinion, that his Majesty's Design in so doing was (probably) to oblige them to him, that if any Disturbance should break out in *England*, (as there was even then some appearance) they might (at least) not join against him; yet Malignants, (for so were all call'd that own'd the King's Interest.) presuming they were so deeply engag'd, that no Favours would bribe them to indifference, thought that all that his Majesty had done tended only to render them the more able to ruin him.

And in that his Majesty had neglected both Noble Men, and others, that were really for him; they did less understand what State-Policy could be therein; and whatsoever his Majesty's reason might be for it, (which was, possibly, to ingratiate himself more with the Covenanters, whilst they saw him so only bent to make conquest of them, that he cared not for others) yet it produc'd this effect, *viz.* that divers who had formerly engag'd for him, chose thereafter to meddle no more, (such as Sir Donald Goreau, the Lairds of Giebs and Bamse, Foveran, and others) and even those who were of most generous Spirits us'd to say, *That Men ought to do what belongs to Conscience and Honour, but if any engaged for him out of hope of reward, they might be readily disappointed.* Yea; the Lord Carnwarth, who, (whatsoever his Personal

sonal Qualities might be) was much more faithful to his Majesty than many others, who had tasted as deeply of his Bounty, said to this sense in a very publick Audience, *That he would go to Ireland and join Sir Pylem Oneal, (chief of the Rebels there) and then he was sure the King would prefer him.*

But tho' the Noble Men and Prime Covenanters did for a while, after his Majesty's removing, carry themselves fairly, as if they had intended Peace, yet the inferiors began to talk and call it our duty to press Reformation in *England*; and the Wives at *Edinburgh*, (whose help to the Cause was always ready at a dead lift) cry'd out against all, especially the Ministers, who were for a peaceable Temper, and would be content to acquiesce in the Reformation we had obtain'd,

* *proceeded* yea, herein they * *deborded* so far, that they spar'd not Mr. *Henderfon* himself, upon a supposition, that the King's Respects to him had wrought him to a Moderation; and when the vulgar sort began thus to vent themselves, (it being well enough known that they used not to speak by guess, but first had their Lessons given them) Men began more clearly than before to discover and foresee what might be the Design of the Great Ones.

About this time the Earl of *Lauderdale* began to shew himself forward in the Cause, his Son the Lord *Maitland* had been so from the beginning, but the Father withdrew at first and join'd the King, which then made many to say, that *Lauderdale* had chosen the surest way of any; if the Covenanters prevail'd, his Son's Zeal would expiate his Malignity, and if the King prevail'd, his adhering to him would procure Quarter to his Son.

However

However his fiding with the King obtain'd from his Majesty a Gift of the Lordship of *Musclebrough*, reckon'd worth 23000 Marks *per Annum*, and having gotten this he turn'd the other way.

Many seeing this change, did at first imagine, it had been but in policy to get the King's * *Gift* through the Seals, (which * *grant to* as it could not be done without their *pass* good Will that rul'd the Exchequer, so would they not have done such a favour to an Anti-Covenanter) but his after actings refuted that Opinion, and declar'd the reality of his change, in regard he became so zealous in the Cause, that my self and many more heard him say in a very publick Meeting, *That he would live to see the Cause not only go through England, but also carried to the Walls of Rome.*

The Earl of *Dumfermling* in his way went somewhat near to the other; his worthy Father had been by King *James* prefer'd to be Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Earl of *Dumfermling*, and had also this Honour, that King *Charles*, (being then Duke of *Albany*) was in his Infancy educated in his Family, upon which reasons his Majesty carry'd with more than ordinary affection to this Earl of *Dumfermling* his Son, and of late * *gifted* him for his life time the Revenue of the Lordship of *Dumfermling*, reckon'd to be about 1000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*. * *granted to or bestowed upon*

Yet, notwithstanding thereof, was he so forward in the Cause, that he had ever been chosen for the prime Commissioner in all the Applications they made to his Majesty, which was a *Trust*. they would not have put upon any, anent whom they had not a certain perswasion that he was fix'd that way. The

1642.

THE Committee appointed by Parliament (for the Tryal of *Montross*, and the rest that had been his Fellow Prisoners in the Castle) did sit throughout *January* and *February*, and having called them often before them, * *olac'd* * *smith'd* the Trial against the 1st of *March*, and sent the report to his Majesty.

But nothing broke out at home of any great Matters against any of them; and that which was most adverted to was, that my Lord *Sinclair's* meddling against *Montross* had produc'd nothing to his prejudice; whereof the Case was thus.

In the Month of *June* by past, when *Montross* was Imprison'd, his Chamber in the *Cannogate*, where he had lodg'd, being (by order of the Committee search'd) and no Papers of Correspondence with his Majesty found therein, the Lord *Sinclair* (then more furious in the Cause than afterwards) was Commissionated to go to old *Montross*, (the Earl's chief dwelling House) and search what he could find there to militate against him; at his coming he broke open his Cabinets, but found nothing therein belonging to the Publick Affairs, only instead thereof he found some Letters from Ladies to him in his younger Years flourish'd with *Arcadian* Complements, which (being divulg'd) would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carry'd to *Montross* made them to be interpreted in the worst sense.

The Lord *Sinclair's* Employment having been only to search for Papers of Correspondence be-
twixt

twixt his Majesty and *Montross*, in reference to publick Affairs, he was much blam'd by Men of Honour and Gallantry for publishing those Letters, but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it.

By this time the *Scotch* Commissioners at *London* advertiz'd their Friends at home, that they had settled with the Parliament of *England* anent an Army of 10000 Men, to be sent from thence to *Ireland*, *Carrickfergus* to be their Head Quarters, and their Maintenance to be from that Parliament, and therefore advised them to go about the Levy.

But there came worfe News about a Breach begun, and like to encrease, betwixt the King and his Parliament of *England*.

And that his Majesty having gone to the House of Commons in Person, and demanded six of their Members, viz. the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pyn*, *Stroode*, *Hastlerig*, *Hamden*, and *Hollis*, the House declared this a breach of their privilege; and that the Multitude (upon that occasion) was become so tumultuous, that (to avoid Affronts) the King, with his Queen and Children, had thought fit to withdraw first to *Hampton Court*, and afterwards to *Windsor*.

For remedying whereof, his Majesty sent a Message to them, wherein he offer'd, (for the getting a good understanding among them) not only to pass from his demand of the six Members, but also to deliver the Cinque Ports and the Militia of the Kingdom to the Trust of those whom the Parliament should appoint.

But tho' those Condescensions were so gracious, as had not a Precedent in former times, yet did they not reconcile the Difference. If the *Scotch* Commissioners proved Beautifeaus in the

Business, (as his Majesty reckon'd them to be) they have to answer to God for it. Soon after the King divested himself of his own Power to raise the Parliament, by giving his Assent to their Sitting as long as they pleas'd, whereby he had no more Authority over them; only hop'd that Time might gain them to Moderation.

His Majesty having resolv'd to come towards the North, the Queen Embark'd for *Holland* with her Daughter the Princess *Mary*, who upon *May* the 2d 1641. had been Marry'd to the Prince of *Orange*, by Bishop *Wren*. And the King made his Residence at *York* with the Prince and the rest of his Children

Upon new Advertisement from the Commissioners at *London*, at last the Army of 10000 Men was Levied for *Ireland*, old *Lesley* made General thereof, and *Argile*, *Lothian*, and the rest of the rigid Lords, Colonels of Regiments.

Montros and the rest of the Royalists apprehended a great Policy in this Expedition, viz. that they might thereby have an Army in readiness; whensoever they meant to join with the King's Enemys in *England*: For it was well enough known, that they had it in their Design to unite with them, altho' they had not yet begun to profess it.

Nevertheless upon *April* the 2d the Army cross'd the Sea, and arriv'd at *Carrickfergus*. While his Majesty remain'd at *York*, there pass'd several Declarations betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, for agreement, but were so far from producing that Effect, that the Differences still encreas'd: And altho his Majesty (being calumniated as having authoriz'd the *Irish* Rebellion) did for his Vindication offer to go to *Ireland* in Person, and to hazard his Life for subduing it, yet would they not

not consent thereto, but oppos'd his going by a Declaration to the contrary.

So Distractions encreas'd more and more, (notwithstanding the fairest Offers his Majesty could make for Accommodation) and became the more remediless, by reason of an Affront which upon *April 22* Sir *John Hotham*, Governour of *Hull*, gave to his Majesty, refusing him Entrance into the Town, professing to have Warrant for that Effect from the Parliament.

But whatsoever his Warrant was, Divine Justice paid home his Insolent Carriage to his Sovereign, for there falling out some Jealousies afterwards betwixt the Parliament and him, both he and his Son were brought Prisoners to *London*, and there lost their Heads by that same Authority he had kept the King at Defiance at the Gate of his own Town.

While matters were at a height betwixt the King and Parliament, they, at *Edinburgh* appointed a Fast to be kept throughout the Kingdom in the beginning of *May* thereanent.

And it being ordinary, whensoever any Plot was in hand, to grace it with a Fast, it made all Men to expect some great thing to follow, which was, that they sent up the Chancellor to *York*, to deliver their Advice to his Majesty, and offer his pains for Accommodation.

It was expected that the King should have allow'd him to go forward to *London*, but it was said his Majesty thought there were too many of them there already, therefore instead thereof he dispatched him home again, to convene a frequent Council against *May 25*, at which day *Roxbrough*, *Kinnoul*, *Lanerick*, and Sir *James Galloway*, came down from the King to press his Point.

The Council being met, a great multitude from *Fife* and the *Western Shires* (having been privately advertiz'd) came thither, and joined in a Supplication to the Council (which was presented by *Haddington* and *Elcho* for the Nobility; and *Scotseraig* and *Nidrie* for the Gentry; two Burgeffes of *Edinburgh* for the Burghs, and Mr. *Andrew Ramsey* and Mr. *John Moncrief* for the Ministry) craving that nothing should be Enacted prejudicial to the Work of Reformation, and the Treaty of Union betwixt the Nations ratified in Parliament; which Supplication was well accepted by the Council, and thanks given for it.

The Banded Lords (so were they called) and other Royalists, upon the noise of the Councils meeting assembled also in the *Cannogate*, and joined in a Supplication to the Council for the King's Interest, which was presented by the Earl of *Kelly*, Lords *Ereskin*, *Ker* and others, but that was rejected with disdain, and the Presenters check'd for their boldness.

When the King heard the result of that Councils meeting, he then began to see a Storm brewing in the North; and that notwithstanding the many Favours, whereby (at his being there) he suppos'd he had gain'd them to an indifferency at least, yet they would unthankfully engage against him.

Hereupon the Marquis of *Hamilton* (then with his Majesty, tho' not much trusted) offer'd to come home, and draw over *Argile* to his Party, which had he done, all had been well. But being come home, as it was true that he and *Argile* became so very intire, that they Feasted daily together, and talk'd of a Marriage betwixt the Lord
Lorn

Lorn and the Marquis's Daughter; so it was found, that instead of reclaiming him to the King's side, the Marquis went along in his way.

Which being notified to the King, his next care was how to get them rent asunder again, and to this effect, *William Murray* of the Bed-chamber offer'd his Service, one, who had as much reason to be faithful to the King as any *Scotsman* alive; for he had not only kept him in his Service from a Child, and prefer'd him to that place in his Chamber, but also gave him the Wards and other great matters, whereby he might have become very rich, if he had been frugal.

Royalists thought Mr *Murray's* carriage very unanswerable to those favours; yea, *Montross* (professing to have certain knowledge thereof) affirm'd he was the Man, who in *October 1641*. sent to *Newcastle* the Copies of his Letters, which he had written to the King then at *York*. And it was no secret, that in the year 1641 (when his Majesty was in *Scotland*) he did by his Uncle, the Provost of *Messen*, correspond with his Enemies and reveal his purposes to them; whereof, tho' the King was sufficiently inform'd both by *Montross* and others, yet such was his goodness, that (being of incomparable Integrity himself) he was not inclined to be suspicious of any: Whereby it came to pass, that both Mr. *Murray* and others of his Majesties Servants (whose pranks were well enough known) stood not the less right in his Majesties Eyes, to the great prejudice of his affairs, and the grief of all true hearted Royalists.

William Murray being come down, went straight to *Hamilton*, where he found the Earl of *Argile* with the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and after those

three had conferr'd some days together, they separated and made the report to pass, that they had discorded upon the account of publick business: Whereupon *William Murray* return'd to Court, as if he had wrought a difference, whereas the construction that Royalists put upon it, was, that *William Murray* had taught them a piece of Policy more advantageous to their design, than any of themselves had formerly thought on.

For whereas *Hamilton* profess'd to go for the King, yet whensoever the Royalists came to be in any capacity to act for his Interest; my Lord *Hamilton's* Place and Part was to get the leading of them about to *Argile's* design: This * counterfeit or feign'd. was the Royalists sense of the * simulat division betwixt the two Marquesses of *Hamilton* and *Argile*.

Upon the last Tuesday of *July*, the General Assembly met at *St. Andrews*, where Mr. *Robert Douglas* was receiv'd Moderator.

The Earl of *Dumfermling* being his Majesty's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly a Letter from his Majesty, full of gracious Expressions to this Church, and wherein he crav'd in recompence of all his Favours, no more but that the Ministers would by their Doctrine and Example, labour to keep his Subjects in their Duties.

The Letter having been read and consider'd, the Assembly resolv'd to return his Majesty a Letter of thanks, wherein they promis'd so to do.

Yet the very next day, they went about a business which seem'd inconsistent therewith, and it was this.

The *Scotch* Commissioners then at *London*, had written down to the Assembly about the great appearance

pearance there was of a Reformation in *England*, and for a Proof thereof, sent a printed Copy of a Declaration * *Emitte*d by * *Publis*h'd the *English* Parliament, shewing their intention to extirpate Episcopacy, together with a Letter from some *English* Ministers to that effect, all which were read in the Assembly, and then it came to be consider'd what was incumbent on the Assembly in that case.

Divers of the meeting were against it, that the Assembly should engage any way in Reference to the matters of *England*, & were for waiting till his Majesty's Commissioner should express himself to that effect : Which had he done, they resolv'd to have been assisting, but since his Grace kept silence, and said nothing for his Majesty's Interest, they were so discourag'd, that they made no appearance.

And so it was resolv'd, that the Assembly should write answers thereto, testifying the great content they had to be thus certified of a Reformation there, and wishing the prosecution of the same; and the Lord *Maitain* was pitch'd upon as the Assembly's Commissioner to go up to deliver their answer; and besides the Letters which were publickly read in the Assembly, he had several Instructions given him in private.

This being done, it was in the next place mov'd, that the Assembly should nominate a Committee of certain of their Number, to sit frequently at *Edinburgh*, and to correspond with the Parliament of *England* from time to time for advancing of that Work.

The Establishment of that Commission was oppos'd by divers moderate Men in the Assembly, out of a fear that it would encroach upon the

Affairs belonging to the ordinary Judicatures of the Church, and so prove prejudicial to them : But this objection was taken away by the profession of those who urg'd it, that this Committee was not to meddle with the affairs belonging to the ordinary Judicatures; but only to Correspond with the *English* for promoting Reformation there, and to continue no longer than that Cause required; and so by the plurality of Voices the Committee was established.

The Assembly rose the 6th of *August* having first appointed the next Assembly to sit at *Edinburgh* upon the first *Wednesday* of *August* 1643.

The next Occurrence was the sad news of the distractions betwixt the King and Parliament, that both were going to Arms, the Earl of *Essex* being by the Parliament chosen General of the Foot, and *Bedford* of the Horse : And by the King, the Earl of *Lindsey* General of Foot, Prince *Rupert* of Horse, and General *Ruthven* Field Marshal; and that the King's Standard was to be set up at *Nottingham August* 21st. all which prov'd true.

Levies on both sides being begun, the Parliament's greatest assistance (both for Men and Money) was from the City of *London*, and (in regard that most Soldiers of Fortune join'd to the King) the greatest scarcity was of Officers : For a supply whereof, some were sent from *Scotland*, viz. Sir *James Ramsey*, Mr. *John Middleton*, and *James Hebburn*, whom they so welcom'd, that ere long they were preferr'd to be Major Generals; two more *Scotchmen* engaged for the Parliament, viz. Sir *William Balfour* and Sir *John Meldrum*, which was the more talk'd of, because of the Ingratitude they thereby express'd to his Majesty,

Majesty, whose Creatures they were; and especially Sir *William Balfour*, whom his Majesty in the beginning of his Reign, had prefer'd to be Lieutenant of his Tower of *London*, a place of so high a Trust, and wherein the *Londoners* thought themselves so much concern'd, that the first grudge they harbour'd against his Majesty, was said to be because he had confer'd it on a Stranger.

In the beginning of *September* the *Scotch Commissioners* return'd from *London*, except *Patrick Bell*, who died there of the Pestilence.

And upon *September* 21st. the Committee of the late General Assembly met at *Edinburgh*, to receive an account of the Lord *Maitland's* Negotiation, who in a long Discourse told them what great things he had done, and then deliver'd to them the Parliament of *England's* Answer to the General Assembly's Message, shewing their Resolution to abolish Episcopacy root and branch; and to call an Assembly of Divines for modelling a new Government, whereunto they wish'd our Church to send Commissioners.

The next thing that came to be talk'd of thro' the Land, was of a Battle fought between the King and Parliament at *Edghil* upon *October* 23^d. wherein much Blood was shed on both sides.

This gave occasion to the Committee of the General Assembly to meet again at *Edinburgh*, *November* 15th, to consider what was Incumbent upon them in that case. And while they were about it, an Emergent occur'd, which was not pleasing to them.

Mr. *John Oswald* the Minister of *Aberdeen*, came as Commissioner from the Synod thereof, to crave their advice anent the encrease of Brow-
nisme

nisme in the North, and especially concerning one *Gilbert Gordon of Tillifroskie*, who maintain'd and spread the absurdest Tenets thereof, which he produced to the Commissioners in writing. As also Mr. *Patrick Sharp* came Commissioner from the Presbytery of *Hamilton* upon the same Errand, and made special mention of one *Alexander Taes* a great Seducer in *Clydesdale*. The Commissioners advice was, that those things and Persons should be tenderly handled, for eschewing offence to the good People of *England* that favour'd those ways.

This being so determinated, the Committee resolv'd to delay their Resolution in publick matters until their next Session, and so rose for that time.

After this came the news that both King and Parliament were encreasing their Forces, and that besides the Army his Majesty hath already on foot, Sir *Ralph Hopton* was levying another in *Cornwall* and *Wales*, and the Duke of *Newcastle* a third in the Northern Shires.

On the other part Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was levying for the Parliament also in the North, and the Earl of *Manchester* and *Oliver Cromwell* were to levy another; which with that they had already, would amount to three Armies also.

Yet, in token that they were afraid of the King's strength, the Parliament did send in the mean time Mr. *Pickering* to *Scotland*, to treat for assistance: And shortly after his arrival, they sent a Declaration, setting forth the danger of Religion, and thereupon inviting their dear Brethren here to engage with them for their aid.

Upon the hearing whereof, his Majesty sent down the Earl of *Lanerick*, with a Letter to the
Secret

Secret Council, in opposition to the Declaration of the Parliament.

And by plurality of Voices it was concluded, that the King's Letter should be printed and publish'd, that thereby it might come to the knowledge of the Lieges.

Which being done, the Marquess of *Argile*, and his adherents (who had dissented from the conclusion) and the Ministers also became so offended, that they sent presently advertisement to *Fife* and the Western parts to make haste to *Edinburgh* to remedy the same.

1643.

When being come to *Edinburgh*, they assembled in the *Taylers Hall*, and for to afford them the better opportunity of seeking redress; the Conservators of Peace sat down also, as likewise did the Committee of the General Assembly,

Whereupon the *Fife* Men and the rest, did first supplicate the Committee of the General Assembly to join with them, and that being granted, both of them supplicated the Conservators of Peace to deal with the Council to explain their meaning, in causing the King's Letter to be printed, that it might not import their approving it; as also to cause the Parliament of *England's* Declaration to be printed, both which the Council yielded to.

While this was a doing, a Cross-Petition was framed by the Royalists (who upon the noise of the business assembled also) and presented to the Council by the Earls of *Airly*, *Home*, and *Dumfries*;

frieze; Lords *Ereskin, Montgomery, Ker, Fleming, Levinston, Drummond, Linton, Salton, Napier, Kirkubrie, Bargenny*, but this was rejected by the Council with much indignation.

As also the Committee of the Church emitted a Declaration against it, which was Printed, and Copies thereof sent to all the Presbyteries throughout the Kingdom, with a strict Order (under pain of Censure) to the several Ministers to read the same in their Pulpits, and to Comment upon it to the People.

The Conservators of Peace, and Committee of the General Assembly having thus engag'd, went on more avowedly than before; so that in the next place, they resolv'd to supplicate the King for a Parliament and General Assembly, and nominated Commissioners to go to his Majesty for those ends, the Chancellor, *Sir Ar. Johnston*, Mr. *Robert Barclay* Burges of *Irwin*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*; all which went, except *Sir Ar. Johnston*, to whom his Majesty denied a Protection, and at their going away (by Order from the Committee of the Church) a Fast was kept throughout the Kingdom, upon the last Sabbath of *February*, and the *Thursday* after for their good Success.

The Earl of *Kelly*, and *Henry Lord Ker*, dying about that time, the rigid Faction insulted thereupon, and spar'd not to say, *That their death was in way of Judgment, for abetting the Cross Petition*, altho' it be certain that those Noble Men died very Christianly, and very far from reckoning that among their Sins.

In the end of *February* the Queen returning from *Holland*, landed at *Burlington Bay*, upon the notice whereof the Earl of *Montrose* posted away
to

to her Majesty, and convoy'd her to *Tork*, which shortly the King's Enemies hearing of, conceiv'd that he would give her Majesty a severe information against them, for countermining whereof, the Marquiss of *Argile* went privately to the Marquiss of *Hamilton*, (for their Profession at that time was to be discorded) and thereupon the Marquiss of *Hamilton* rode up to the Queen at *Tork*, but before his arrival there *Montross* had suggested to her Majesty, *That altho' the King's Enemies in Scotland did not as yet profess so much, yet they certainly intended to carry an Army into England, and to join with the King's Enemies there, and for remedy offer'd, That if the King would grant a Commission, himself and many more would take the Field and prevent it, which he intreated her Majesty to impart to the King at their meeting.*

The Marquiss of *Hamilton* at his arrival getting notice from her Majesty of *Montross*'s information, offer'd to refute all, undertaking (that without raising Arms for the King) he should make that Party to lie quiet, and not Lift an Army for *England*; whereof he desired her Majesty in his Name to give the King full assurance.

The Queen trusting most to the Marquiss of *Hamilton*, dismiss'd *Montross* unsatisfy'd, and exhorted the Marquiss to perform his promise, telling him, *That for an earnest Penny of the great Rewards he might afterwards expect, he should presently be preferr'd to the Title of a Duke*; and so her Majesty went forward to the King, then at *Oxford*; and my Lord *Hamilton* return'd home.

And having acquainted *Argile* and his adherents how *Montross*'s Motions were crush'd, (whereby they were free from opposition) they began to discover their Intention more publicly than before;

fore; so, as it came to be openly talk'd amongst them, that it was necessary they should levy an Army, and carry it into *England*, but not side against the King, only mediate betwixt him and his Parliament.

Montrofs and other Royalists, (considering that as soon as the noise hereof should come to his Majesty's Ears, how he would then relish his Overture which the Queen rejected) did frequently meet, but not in great numbers, lest their Adversaries, (who rul'd the Judicatures) should have taken notice thereof and proceeded against them.

Those who us'd ofteneft to meet with *Montrofs* were, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, formerly President, the Earl of *Callendar*, Lords *Erskin*, *Ogilby*, *Napier*, and sometimes *Montgomery*, who then profess'd to be turn'd that way.

These advertiz'd his Majesty that there were both Hearts and Hands enough in *Scotland* to act for him, and wanted nothing but a Commission, which if his Majesty would grant, his Adversaries here might be kept under, but if he were wanting to himself, until they had an Army on foot, it would then be past time to attempt against them; but my Lord *Hamilton's* Power at Court was so prevailing, that the King was made still to rely upon his promise at *York*, and rejected utterly the offer which the *Montrosians* had made.

Argile and the rest of his Faction being advertiz'd how *Montrofs* and his adherents had address'd his Majesty, thought it to good purpose to assay, (now when *Montrofs* had met with a disobliment) if he could be gain'd to their side, taking it for granted, that if he was brought over, the rest would scatter, and so they would be free of their Trouble; for which end Sir *James Rollock*,

lock, and *Sir Mungo Cambell*, were, by the Marquis of *Argile*, and the rest, Commissionated to go to *Montross*, and to make offer, that if he would leave his *contra-working*, and comply with them, all his Debts should be discharg'd, and himself preferr'd to the highest Place of Command next to General *Lesley*.

Montross to gain time, (having still an expectation that the King would make such discoveries in time, as would incline him to the course he aim'd at) gave them a dilatory answer, so that after a fortnight they return'd to him, when to obtain a farther delay, he profess'd some scruples of Conscience, for satisfying whereof he wish'd to confer with Mr. *Henderson* at his return from *Oxford*, which they constru'd to be a good answer, and promis'd that so soon as Mr. *Henderson* arriv'd he should be sent to him, to solve his doubts, and so they parted.

In the beginning of *May* the Commissioners return'd from *Oxford*, and against the 9th. day thereof, the Lords of Council, the Conservators of Peace, and the Commissioners of the General Assembly, did all convene to receive an account of his Majesty's Answer to their Demands.

And the same not being satisfactory, especially his Majesty's refusing to grant a Parliament at that nick of time, they fell to debate, whether they might call a Parliament without his Warrant, or not: And for resolution, had recourse to *Sir Thomas Hope*, his Majesty's Advocate, (but privately their Oracle, though the King could not be perswaded to think so) who being consulted, told them, that by the Laws of the Land they could not call a Parliament without the King; but withall Insinuated how they
might

might do another thing, which would be as effectual to their purpose; that is to say, call a Convocation of the Estates, and gave them a Precedent thereof, which happen'd in the time of King *James V.*

Those that had insight into the *Scots* History, knew well enough that this Instance was no ways applicable to the Case now under debate; yet they rested upon the Resolution, and according thereto, publish'd by sound of Trumpet at the Mercat Cross of *Edinburgh*, a Convention of the Estates to sit there upon *June* 22th, requiring the Shires and Burghs to make timely Elections of Commissioners thereto. Likewise the Commission of the General Assembly, appointed a solemn Fast to be kept throughout the Kingdom upon *Sunday* the 2d. of *June*, and on the *Wednesday* following, for the good success thereof.

When the Diet of the Convention drew near, they dispatched Mr. *Henderson* to wait upon the Earl of *Montrose* for solving of his doubts, who being advertised by Sir *James Rollock* of Mr. *Henderson's* coming the length of *Sterling* for that end, did meet him a *Sterlin* Bridge; they confer'd together by the Water-side the space of two hours, and then parted fairly without any accommodation.

Montrose having retired to his own House of *Kinkarne*, began after some days to consider, that Mr. *Henderson* having made report to those that sent him, how there was no appearance of his turning to their Way, it might be feared, that so soon as the Convention of Estates were met, and fell to consider of his business, a resolution might be taken to apprehend him.

Therefore

Therefore for preventing thereof, he, (and with him his intimate Friend the Lord *Ogilby*) withdrew themselves privately, and went to the King then at *Oxford*, where they found his Majesty still so confident (upon the assurance which the Marquis of *Hamleton* sent him from *York* by the Queen) that nothing which they could suggest to the contrary, prevail'd upon him to attempt any thing for prevention.

The Convention of the Estates sate down *June 22th.*

So did the Commission for the general Assembly, for without the Ministers (that rul'd it) nothing could be done.

The first thing that occur'd to be debated in the Convention, concern'd the Earls of *Roxbrough*, *Morton*, *Anandale*, *Kinoul*, *Carnwath*, and *Lanerick*, who had lately come from Court, and were accused about a Letter written by them from *Derby*, to the Queen, informing her Majesty of the Intelligence they had gotten in their way, concerning the design of the *Scots* to Arm against the King. Many thought at first, that the knowledge of this Letter, had been communicated to our great Ones by some of their secret Friends at the Court (whereof they were thought to have store, even in the Bedchamber) but ere long it came to be publickly talk'd, that it was reveal'd by one of themselves.

However, great offence was taken at the strain of it, and they were all cited to appear before the Convention. The Earl of *Carnwath* (who had the least friendship among them) fled, but the rest obey'd the Citation,

and after much debate at several Diets, that business was in the end made up, and the Convention went on to more publick affairs, which were brought in after this manner.

The Commission of the General Assembly fram'd a Remonstrance to the Convention, setting forth the danger wherein Religion was, by reason of the Course his Majesty was engag'd in, and Commissionated Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, Mr. *David Dick*, and Mr. *Andrew Cant* to present the same.

The Remonstrance being read in the Convention, was approv'd, and thanks given to the Commission of the Assembly for the same.

And withal, the Convention did earnestly desire that the Commission would be pleas'd by another Remonstrance to offer their best advice for Remedies, which was gone about, and after some days presented to the Convention.

* *Purport* The * *Substance* whereof was, that they should look upon the Cause of their Brethren in *England* as their own, and bestir themselves resolutely and actively for defending and prospering God's Cause in their hands. The Convention (being thus animated and set on by the Church) did soon come to a Resolution thereupon (which long before the Plotters had in their thoughts) concerning the taking Arms.

Yet, knowing that the generality of People throughout the Land, favoured the King, and were of Opinion, that seeing his Majesty at his being here, had given full satisfaction in all things concerning Religion and Liberty (which themselves had acknowledg'd) and was still so far

far from attempting any thing contrary thereto, that in all his Letters and Declarations, he promised both by Word and Oath, never to alter or reverse any of his gracious Condescensions; it was very hard (upon a pretext of Jealousy that if he prevail'd against his Enemies in *England*, he would overturn all here) to engage against him.

Therefore the Convention chose to proceed slowly and by degrees, and the most which at first they resolv'd on was, that because of a rumour (which their Ministers and others of the Inferiour sort devis'd) concerning some Moss-Troopers in the South-borders, who were said to disturb the Peace, therefore three Troops of Horse should be presently levied, under the Command of Sir *John Brown*, to curb them.

Their policy in that Levy was easily seen by the Royalists, for Sir *John Brown* finding nothing to do in the South (there being no Moss-Troopers there) led his Troops to and fro through the Country to terrifie disaffected People from whispering against the Publick, which they had not spared to do so long as there were none in Arms.

After this came one Mr. *Corbet* to the Convention, being sent by the Parliament of *England*, who (besides other Messages communicated only to the Leaders) deliver'd to the Convention, and also to the Commission of the General Assembly, a Commission issued forth by the Parliament of *England*, for an Assembly of Divines to sit at *Westminster* the first of *July* instant, in order to the Reformation of the *English* Church.

This was much talk'd of by them, as a sufficient ground for their effectual concurrence, and afterwards more of that sort occur'd.

Upon *August* the 2d, the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh*, Sir *Thomas Hope* (his Majesty's Advocate) being Commissioner, and indeed it did exceedingly discourage such as intended to have appear'd for his Majesty's Interest, when they found him so honour'd and trusted, concerning whose carriage the King had been so often inform'd.

Mr. *Alexander Henderson* was elected Moderator, to whom the King (in the Year 1641) had express'd great respects, whereupon for sometime afterwards he inclin'd that we should have rested with our own Reformation, which the King had confirm'd, and not to have meddled with the *English*; but by this time they had prevail'd with him to go their way, whereby indeed they gain'd one great Point: For he was so look'd upon, and reverenc'd by the generality of the Ministry throughout the Land, that they could scarce have had them on their side without him.

In the beginning of the Assembly it came to be publicly known, that the King had taken the City of *Bristol*, and was so prevailing, that had he afterwards march'd forward to *London*, his adversaries would have met him with Ropes about their Necks, and submitted upon Mercy.

But instead thereof, he was led by treacherous Council to lay Siege to *Gloucester*, whereby the Parliament had leisure to employ themselves many ways, for encreasing their Strength, which

which then was very small; *Essex* with the remainder of his Army, reckon'd not to exceed 5000. lying at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, unable to attempt any thing, and *Fairfax* and *Manchester* having yet attained to no considerable numbers.

Among other means which that Parliament used, four Commissioners came from it to this General Assembly, *viz.* Sir *William Ermin*, Sir *Henry Vain Junior*, Mr. *Hatcher* and Mr. *Darley*, and with them two Ministers, Mr. *Marshall* (who profess'd to be a Presbyterian) and Mr. *Nye* an Independent, lately come over from *New-England*.

They presented to the Assembly a Letter from the Divines assembled at *Westminster*, together with a Declaration from the Parliament of *England*, both to one sense; *viz.* that they purpos'd to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, and to introduce that which they should find most agreeable to the Word of God.

These being read, the Moderator had a long discourse upon them, and then askt the Judgment of several Brethren, what was to be done in order to a return? Their answer was, that himself and his Assessors should take the business into Consideration. And happening to ask the Judgment of Mr. *Hen. Guthry* Minister of *Sterlin*; he rising up spoke to this effect, *that he observ'd the Assembly of Divines in their Letter, and the Parliament in their Declaration, were both clear and particular concerning the privative Part; viz. that they would extirpate Episcopacy root and branch; but as to the positive Part, what they meant to bring in, they huddled*

it up in many ambiguous general Terms. So that whether it would be Presbytery, or Independency or any thing else, God only knew, and no Man could pronounce infallibly concerning it: Therefore, that so long as they stood there, and would come no farther; he saw not how this Church which holdeth Presbyterian Government to be Juris Divini, could take them by the Hand. Whereupon he with'd, that before there were any farther proceeding, the Assembly would be pleas'd to deal with the English Commissioners present, to desire the Parliament and Divines assembled at Westminster to explain themselves, and be as express concerning that which they resolv'd to introduce, as they had been in that which was to be remov'd.

The Moderator paus'd a long time upon Mr. Guthry's discourse, and at last made no direct reply to it. And that which was strange was, that altho' very many in the House did in their Conscience approve it (as themselves afterwards acknowledg'd in private) yet none of them did second it. Whereby it came to pass, that the Moderator and his Assessors had the Business committed to them, and Mr. Guthry's reward for what he had spoken, was, that all the Zealots cry'd him down as a rotten Malignant, and an Enemy to the Cause, conceiving that his pleading for Presbyterian Government, flow'd not from any love to it, but to baffle the Work.

Always the Moderator and his Assessors, which (besides the leading Ministers, such as Mr. Dick, Blair, Cant, Rutherford, &c.) were the Marquiss of Argyll, the Earls of Casselle, Glencarn, Eglinton, Lindsey, and Loudon the Chancellor

Chancellor, Lords *Balmerinoch*, *Burleigh*, *Arbuthnot*, and others, under the Name of Ruling Elders, who having treated at length with the *English* Commissioners, resolv'd in the end upon a *League and Covenant* to be Sworn and Subscribed throughout both Nations.

And the same being fram'd, was by them brought into the Assembly upon the 17th day of *August*, and twice read over; when *Mr. Matthew Brysbin* Minister of *Ereskin* (a Reverend worthy Man) desiring only that before Men were urg'd to Vote about it, leisure might be given them for some few days to have their Scruples remov'd; and for that he was as much spoken against, as *Mr. Guthrey* had been the other day.

And without any delay, the Question was presently stated, Approve or not? and the Roll being call'd thereupon, it was by plurality of Voices approv'd.

It was not the Custom in Assemblies, for any Man (while the Roll was a calling) to interrupt Voicing by Discourses, every one was to answer to the Question, Yea, or Nay, and no more. Yet, the Lord *Maitland* was so taken with a Thought of his own, that he must needs vent it: So that when his Voice came to be ask'd, he rose up and spoke to this sense, *How upon the 17th of August (four Years ago) an Act pass'd in that Assembly for thrusting Episcopacy out of this Church, and now upon this 17th of August also an Act was passing for the extirpation of it out of the Church of England, and that Providence having order'd it so, that both happen'd to be on one day, he thought there*

was much in it, and that Men might warrantably thereupon expect glorious consequences to follow, even farther off than England, ere all was done.

This Observation was applauded by the most, as having much quickness in it, though others thought it very ridiculous.

The next thing done in the Assembly was, the Election of Commissioners to repair to *London*, to join with the Assembly of Divines, for promoting the Work; and the Men pitch'd upon were, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *Robert Baileyy*, Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, and Mr. *George Gilesp*, and as Ruling Elders, with them the Earl of *Cassels*, Lord *Maitland*, and Mr. *Archibald Johnston*.

Afterwards the Assembly sent Mr. *Douglas*, *Dick*, *Cant*, *Blair*, and others, to the Convention of the Estates, to present to them the League and Covenant, and to crave their Ratification thereof, which the Convention granted with much Joy; and so the Commission of the Church being renew'd (by the Assembly) for that Year, and Orders given for the frequent meeting thereof, whereby the better Correspondence might be maintain'd with those that were Commissionated to go for *London*, the Assembly rose with Triumph *August 19*.

Upon the 24th. of *August* the Convention (having now ratified the League and Covenant) did, in pursuance of the ends thereof, publish at the Market Cross of *Edinburgh* a Proclamation, commanding all betwixt Sixty and Sixteen to be in readiness upon 24 Hours warning, to March when and where they should be appointed.

And

And upon the morrow the 25th. the Convention, (having appointed a Grand Committee to sit constantly, with ample power in all things that should occur) adjourn'd, being to assemble again when the Committee should give the call.

Upon the 30th. of *August* the Lord *Maitland*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, and Mr. *George Gillespy*, and with them Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Nye* the Preacher, began their Journey to *London*, in order to get the League and Covenant approv'd and subscrib'd there, the rest of the *English* Commissioners being to stay here until the Covenant should be return'd.

Upon the arrival of these Commissioners at *London* there was much joy, and the League and Covenant (which they carry'd up) was without delay allow'd and approv'd, both by the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines; and afterwards return'd hither.

Whereupon the Commission of the General Assembly dispatch'd presently to *London* Mr. *Robert Baily*, and Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, to shew with what Solemnity the return of the League and Covenant was welcom'd, and to join with the other Commissioners formerly gone up for promoting the Work.

Afterwards the Commission of the General Assembly ordain'd, that without delay it should be sworn and subscrib'd throughout this whole Kingdom, and for that effect they sent very peremptory Letters to all Presbyteries within the same.

And because they doubted most the Presbytery of *Sterlin*, (in regard of the known disaffection of the Ministers thereof) Sir *John Brown* had Orders given him to Quarter his Troops

Troops in *Sterlin*, until the same was done.

Upon the 13th. of *October* the League and Covenant was solemnly sworn and subscrib'd in the great Church of *Edinburgh*, by the Commission of the Church and the Committee of Estates, together with the *English* Commissioners, viz. Sir *William Erskin*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Mr. *Marshall*, who had stay'd here until this time.

After this the Earls and Lords of Council were (by the Committee of Estates) warn'd (under strict Certifications) to appear in *Edinburgh* upon Thursday the second of *November*, there to swear and subscribe, which many did, to eschew suffering, but not cordially.

Only *Hamilton*, *Lanerick*, *Roxbrough*, *Morton*, and *Kinnoul* refus'd, whereupon Orders were given out, that their Rems should be meddled with, yet nothing follow'd thereupon, for *Morton* and *Kinnoul*'s Estates were so distress'd at that time, that they were not worth preying on, and for the other three, they had Friends in the Committee.

In the mean time News came of hot Work in *England*, in that so soon as the League and Covenant had been approv'd by the Parliament and Assembly of Divines, the People took such Heart thereupon, that they quickly concurr'd to the recruiting *Essex*'s Army; and it being stronger than at first, he March'd away to raise the Siege of *Glocester*, whereof the King having intelligence, his Majesty left the Siege and went towards him, so that they encounter'd near *Newbury*, where was a Bloody Battel, (with great loss on both sides) upon *October* 23.

The

The Committee of Estates being certify'd hereof, proceeded more quickly towards a Levy, and it further'd the Business much, that upon *November* 29. there arriv'd at *Leith* one of the Parliament's Ships, wherein was 50000 *l.* Sterling, sent by the Parliament to our Committee of Estates, for promoting the Work.

Old *Lesley*, now Earl of *Leven*, was (without controversy) elected General, as before.

The Earl of *Calendar* had an offer of the Lieutenant General's Place, which he had formerly executed, but he declined it; neither were they very earnest about it, doubting very much his affection, and withal having *David Lesley* to prefer.

The Lord *Ereskin* obstinately refus'd to take Command, (which made them afterwards do him all the harm they could) so that the Regiment of *Sterlinshire*, (which had been press'd upon him) was embrac'd by another, who had as much reason as any to have stood for the King; this was the Lord *Levingston*; and so soon as the noise went that he had engag'd, many prophesy'd that *Calendar* would also tack about ere long. in regard that *Levingston* then having most of his substance from him, it was presum'd he would not have comply'd without his allowance.

The Lord *Montgomery* also embrac'd a Regiment, so did divers others, who formerly had profess'd disaffection to the Cause.

The Commission of the General Assembly, to shew their Zeal to the Cause, would needs have a Regiment of Black Coats set forth, and therefore ordain'd every Minister throughout the Kingdom, (as he would be answerable) to afford

a Soldier for making up a Regiment, to be under the Command of *Arthur Ereskrin of Scotsraig*, which many of them obey'd willingly, others by constraint.

As also the Commission appointed a National Fast, to be observ'd upon Sunday *January* the 7th. and the Wednesday following for a Blessing upon the Army.

The Regiments by the middle of *December* began to March Southward, and in their way receiv'd Orders from the General to make their Rendezvouz before the 1st. of *January* at *Hairlaw*, within four Miles of *Berwick*.

Whereof the King having gotten certain information, the Earl of *Montrose* and the Lord *Ogilby*, (and their adherents, *Lodovick* Earl of *Crao-ford*, the Earl of *Niddesdale*, the Lord *Aboyn*, and *Rae*) began to be better look'd upon at Court than before, and his Majesty could not forbear exclaiming against my Lord *Hamilton*, who by his undertaking to hinder a Levy, had made him so secure, that nothing had been attempted for prevention of it.

In the mean time Duke *Hamilton*, (for his Patent had pass'd the Seals two Months before) and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, (presuming they had enough to say for their own excuse) went from *Scotland* towards the King, but being arriv'd at *Oxford* (before they had seen his Face) were by his order made Prisoners, the Duke was sent to *Pendennis* Castle, and *Lanerick* confin'd in his Chamber, from whence shortly after (by means of *James Cunningham*, one of his Majesty's actual Servants) he made his escape, and went
straight

straight to the *Scots* Commissioners at *London*, to whom he was very welcom.

1644.

BY the first of *January* the Army was convened at *Hairlaw*, and to attend the General, and be assisting in Council; there came thither also a Committee, whereof the Marquiss of *Argile* was the principal.

But at home there fell out upon *January* the 5th. a Tumult in *Edinburgh*, whereby the Grand Committee receiv'd some Affront; it was occasion'd by a Motion of my Lord *Balmerinoch*, (whose Genius led him to be very happy in Plotting) for an Excise to be impos'd upon several Goods, to be a stock of Credit, for the better maintenance of the Army; so soon as the noise of it spread abroad, the whole Citizens, (except some few that were most Bigotted) rose in a mutinous way, compass'd the House where the Committee sat, exclaim'd against that Act of Tyranny, and threatned, that unless it were repeal'd, they would tear *Balmerinoch* in pieces.

To compose the Tumult the Committee discharg'd it for that time, until the whole Convention of Estates should meet, which was appointed to be upon *January* 25, and this being intimated to the People they disbanded.

Mr. *Dick*, *Douglas*, *Blair* and other Commissioners of the General Assembly, who had a prime Influence upon publick Affairs, were highly displeas'd at the affront the Committee had receiv'd, as also that the Motion (to the contriving

triving whereof, they had been concurring with *Balmerinock*) had prosper'd no better.

And for remedy, concluded that the Commis-
sion of the Assembly should sit down *January*
17th, to prepare the People against the Diet of
the Convention, to give way to the Excise.
Wherein the Church-men were so successful,
that notwithstanding the Lurry which had been
express'd upon the first hearing of it, yet when
the Convention of Estates assembled at the day
appointed, not so much as one Man in all the
City was heard to speak against it; and so by
the Authority of the Convention, the Excise
was concluded, and Proclamation thereant
presently publish'd at the Mercat Cross. Where-
fore the Cause Triumph'd, and met with no
opposition any where throughout the Land; for
having two Armies (whereof the one in *Ireland*
and the other in *England*) they became so
formidable that all Men behooov'd to Submit.

The Burghs were all cordially for them,
(none excepted) yea, they were more furious
than any other Corporations.

There were of the Shires fix'd their way, the
Shire of *Fife* (which had always been forward
in any thing that was call'd Reformation) and
the whole Western Shires, viz. *Galloway, Carrick,*
Kyle, Cunningham, Rensfrew or *Clydesdale*;
among all which, there was not one Man talk'd
of being disaffected to them, except Sir *David*
Cunningham of *Robert-land*, Sir *Robert*
Douglas of *Bridgend*, and Mr. *Archibald Flem-*
ming of *Peel* Commissary of *Glasgow*.

In the Southern Shires (*Niddesdale* and
Johnston, with some others of their Friends,
being

being excepted) the whole *Clans* were for them, and those of the Name of *Scot* beyond the rest.

The Shires in the heart of the Kingdom (*viz.* the *Lothians, Angus, Mearns, Perth, and Sterling* Shires) were not so generally affected their way; yet they had in each of them some, in whom they might confide, who carried through their affairs in their Meetings.

In the North, their Confidence was in the Earl of *Southerland*, with the *Forbes's* and *Frazier's*; otherwise the generality of the People did not favour them, except some particular Persons, such as the Lairds of *Innes* and *Brody*, and Dr. *Douglas* in *Bamse*, and such others as this *Douglas*, who affected to be Zealots that way, that they might get the Employments, whereby they might benefit themselves.

The greatest dissatisfaction to the Cause, was Northwards, beyond *Grampion* Hills among the Highlanders. For altho' those in the Western Highlands, subject to *Argile* and *Glenurchart* were for them, yet the Eastern parts were not so. The Countrys of *Athol, Mar, Badenoch, Lochaber, Kintaile, Petty Strathdone, Strathspey*, &c. with most of the Isles were Malignants, being Conformable to their Superiors, the Marquiss of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Mar, Athol, Murray, Seaforth*, and the Lairds of *Grant, Mac Intosh*, and *Lochaber*.

Many of the Ancient Nobility abhor'd their Course, yet that was no discouragement to the others, in regard they had not such followers as to render them capable to affront it. Which fell out partly thro' the giddiness of the times; but

but more by the Way his Majesty had taken at the beginning of his Reign; at which time he did recover from divers of them their Hereditary Offices, and also press'd them to quit their Tithes (which formerly had kept the Gentry in a dependance upon them) whereby they were so weakn'd, that now when he stood most in need of them (except the Chief of the *Clans*) they could Command none but their Vassals.

There were also among the Ministry, who dislik'd their way, yet for fear of suffering, comply'd therewith. For now this new model'd Commission of the General Assembly (notwithstanding the fair professions made two Years ago, when it was first Establish'd at St. *Andrews*) assumed a Legislative Power, and enjoin'd Obedience to their Acts, *Sub panâ* : Yea, they became so Tyrannical, that it may be admir'd how so much Violence and Cruelty (as already began to appear amongst them) could lodge in the Breasts of Church-Men, who pretended to such Piety, as did Mr. *Douglas*, *Dick*, *Blair*, *Cant*, and some others, who over-ruled the Commission always; there being nothing but the worst they could do, to be expected by any that should happen in the least to oppose them. This prevail'd upon Men to submit for eschewing Persecution.

So all went well with the Cause; and the Marquis of *Argile* returning from the Army, reported to the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Assembly, how after they had lain some days before *Newcastle* (which yet held out, the Earl of *Newcastle* with a considerable Army being in it) they had (before
his

they resolv'd to come over. And two Regiments arriv'd, before the Committee of Estates knew any thing of it, *viz.* the Lord *Sinclair's* Regiment, which marched to *Sterlin* and quarter'd there, and the Earl of *Lothian's* Regiment, which settled at *Glasgow*.

Hereupon the Committee dispatch'd the Earl of *Glencarn*, Sir *Mungo Campbell* of *Lawers*, and Sir *Frederick Hamilton* to deal with the rest not to stir. But before their arrival in *Ireland*, *Lawer's* own Regiment was come over, and quarter'd themselves in *Clydsdale* upon the Earl of *Carnwath's* Land : With the rest they prevail'd to stay in *Ireland*, upon assurance that before the 10th of *April* Instant, a considerable Supply should be sent them; which was perform'd.

Thus all things were quieted at home, and the Lords of the Council and the Commissioners of the General Assembly were very jovial at *Edinburgh*.

But their Mirth was soon marr'd, by an advertisement they had from the North, that the Marquis of *Huntley* (having the King's Commission for that Effect) had taken the Field, with a considerable Body of Men.

Whereupon, the Convention of the Estates was call'd to meet upon *April* the 10th. as also the Commission of the General Assembly, without whom nothing could be resolv'd upon.

And those Judicatures being sat, the first thing that occur'd, was the receiving of the Earl of *Lanerick*, who (being lately come down from the Commissioners at *London*) appear'd, and gave such evidences of his deep sorrow for adhering to the King so long (with such

such malicious reflections upon his Sacred Majesty, that I forbear to express them, altho' I was an Ear-Witness of them, as made his conversation to be ungrateful) and so was receiv'd to the Covenant. And acted afterwards so vigorously in the Cause, that ere long he was preferr'd to be a Ruling Elder.

The next thing these Judicatures went about, was how *Huntley's* Insurrection should be crush'd ; for which end a Commission was given to the Marquis of *Argile*, and he presently to raise three Regiments ; one in *Fife*, to be Commanded by the Lord *Elcho*, another in *Angus*, to be Commanded by the Earl of *Kinghorn*, and the third in *Perth-Shire*, to be Commanded by the Laird of *Freeland*.

And (that the Spiritual Sword might be concurring) the Summary Excommunication of the Ringleaders in that Rising was decreed, viz. of the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Lord of *Drumm* the Younger, and *Robert Irwin* his Brother, the Laird of *Haddo*, and *Thomas Hay* his Servant, the Laird of *Skeen*, the Laird of *Tipperty*, and Mr. *James Kennedy*, *Huntley's* Secretary ; and the Sentence was pronounced by Mr. *John Adamson*.

By this time the Marquis of *Argile* had gotten up his three Regiments, and therewith marched Northwards : Upon the knowledge whereof, the Marquis of *Huntley* very poorly disbands, and leaves his Friends to their Shifts, himself retiring to *Stranavar* a Highland Country, belonging to the Lord *Raes* to lurk there.

The Laird of *Haddo* (who had been with him) and Captain *Logie*, the Son of a learned Minister, that for his Loyalty was already twice depos'd) with some Soldiers, did betake themselves to the Castle of *Haddo*, and Fortified it so, that it might well have endured *Argile's* Fury. But he coming before it, went more craftily to work, by offering fair Quarters to the Soldiers, and all others within the House, except to the Laird himself and Captain *Logie*: Upon which they embrac'd the Conditions, and having first bound (with Fetters) the Laird and the Captain, they did cast open the Gates to *Argile*, who being enter'd, presently sent those two Gentlemen Prisoners to the *Tollbooth* of *Edinburgh*, and shortly after, himself return'd thither in Triumph.

The Jollity which this Success in the North, occasioned to the Lords of the Committee and Commissioners of the Church was not ended, before they were startled again with an Alarm from the South, that the Marquis of *Montrose* (for that Title the King had lately confer'd upon him) being accompanied with a considerable Number of Soldiers (which by the Earl of *Newcastle's* favour he had levied in *Westmorland*) had taken in the Town of *Dumfrieze*, and had there set up his Majesty's Standard.

This Invasion was look'd upon as a more formidable attempt than the other, in regard of the extraordinary Abilities wherewith *Montrose* was endued (even his Enemies being Judges) and therefore the Committee of Estates concluded, that for opposing of him, an Army should presently be levied, by calling forth the Eighth
Man

Man throughout the whole Land : And having pitch'd upon the Earl of *Callendar* to be General thereof, he did (without Ceremony) embrace the Preferment, notwithstanding that before *Montros's* withdrawing, he had confederated with him in the design which he was now carrying on.

The Earl of *Callendar* having engag'd, went about his Levies; but before he had made much Progress, the Marquis of *Montros* was repuls'd and forced to retreat to *Carlisle*; in regard that upon the appearance of a *Scottish* Party led on by the Sheriff of *Triviotdale*; those *English* that he brought with him, did all flee on the suddain. The cause whereof he judg'd to be this, that most of them being levy'd in Sir *Richard Graham's* Bounds, had been corrupted by their Master, who (owing his Rise, from a very low degree to a puissant Estate, to the King's Bounty) paid him home, as many others had done that were advanc'd by him.

For *Montros's* attempt, the Commission of the General Assembly decreed the Summary Excommunication of him, with the Earls of *Crawford* and *Niddesdale*, and Lords *Ogilby*, *Aboyne*, and others that attended them. The Sentence whereof was pronounc'd in the great Church of *Edinburgh* upon *April* 26th, and very peremptory Orders sent to all the Ministers throughout the Kingdom to make Intimation of it.

Notwithstanding *Montros's* repulse, the Earl of *Callendar* proceeded in his Levy, and having upon the 28th of *April* Muster'd at *Douglas* 5,000 Men, from thence he march'd forward with them to *Dumfrieze*, where they halted until

Sinclare's Regiment (which then quarter'd in *Sterling*) should come to them. That Regiment was esteem'd somewhat Malignant, yet having receiv'd strict Orders from the Committee for that effect, it remov'd from *Sterlin* May 6th, and went up to the Earl of *Callendar* then at *Dumfrieze*.

In place whereof, was sent to Command in *Sterlin* from their West-quarters a Regiment belonging to the Earl of *Callendar*. For that Town was the more adverted to, both in regard that it is the most considerable Pass in the Kingdom, and also because of the Dissatisfaction both of Ministers and People thereabouts, especially the House of *Marr*, who are Hereditary Governors of the Castle of *Sterlin*.

Upon May 29th the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh* without any Commissioner from his Majesty. In it the proceedings of the late Commission were approv'd, and thanks given them for their Fidelity and Diligence: And then the Commission was renew'd for the Year to come; and so the Assembly rose upon June 4th, having remitted all Affairs to the new Commission.

The Marquis of *Montrose* since his retreat from *Dumfrieze* had not been Idle, for by this time he had gotten up in the North parts of *England* a considerable Number of Men, and had therewith routed the Garrison of *Morpeth*, and put Provisions into the Town of *Newcastle*.

Upon Notice whereof, the Committee of Estates order'd the Earl of *Callendar* to march into *England*, and take order with *Montrose*.

The first part he obey'd, but not the second,
For

For presently he left *Dumfrieze*, and advanc'd through *Northumberland*, but instead of medling with *Montrose* (who was then in a good posture) he directed his Course to the Town of *Newcastle* and laid Siege to it, a task where-with he was well acquainted, having been bred mostly in the *Holland War*.

For before this time General *Lesley* had left it, and drawn his Army Southward, to join with *Manchester* and *Fairfax*; in Besieging the City of *York*, in which was the Earl of *Newcastle* and his Army.

And this was the period of time, at which the King's business began to decline, whereof a main reason was said to be this.

In *January* last, the King had put out a Declaration; summoning his Parliament of *England* to leave *Westminster*, and to sit at *Oxford*, with a Promise of Pardon to all that came thither.

Whereupon many of the House of Peers, and some of the Commons also, assembled at *Oxford*, and there made fair professions of their Loyalty; among which one was, that they sent a Letter (sign'd by Fifty four Hands which I saw at it) to the Council of *Scotland*, and to the Conservators of Peace; setting forth their dislike of the *Scotch* Invasion, and wishing a fair and just course to be taken for preventing Blood-shed in both Nations, which otherwise might ensue: The Carriers of the Letter (having General *Lesley's* Pass) were permitted to come in and deliver the Letter, and had also the liberty of a safe return.

Yet it was publickly talk'd here, that those who came to *Oxford* upon his Majesty's Summons, meant not to be very faithful to him, but rather (by that Stratagem) to do those whom they had deserted at *Westminster* better Service, than they could have done being with them, by advising his Majesty to Courses which tended to his Ruine.

Whether there was a Reason or not for this Construction, I leave undetermined : But certain it is, that as the leaving of *Westminster* and coming thither, procured them such Trust, that his Majesty was led by their Councils : So his Affairs did thereafter more and more miscarry ; and his most secret Projects came to be understood by his Enemies : Whereof the most Loyal and Gallant General *Rutboen* did often warn his Majesty, but could not get it remedied.

The *Scotch* Parliament fate down at *Edinburgh* upon *June* 4th, there being no Commissioner there from the King.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* was elected President thereof, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, by the Commissioners of the General Assembly was appointed to Preach at the opening of the Parliament, wherein he satisfied their expectation fully. For the main Point he drove at in his Sermon, was to state an Opposition betwixt King *Charles* and King *Jesus* (as he was pleas'd to speak) and upon that account, to press Resistance to King *Charles* for the Interest of King *Jesus*.

It may be wondered that such Doctrine should have relish'd with Men brought up in
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the Knowledge of the Scriptures; and yet, such was the madness of the Times, that none who Preach'd in Publick since the beginning of the Troubles, had been so cried up, as he was for that Sermon.

The City of *York* being then straitly Block-ed up by *Lesley's*, *Manchester's* and *Fairfax's* Armies, the King sent Prince *Rupert* with his Army for the Relief thereof.

Upon the knowledge of his approach, they left the Siege, and return'd with their Armies some Miles off, towards *Long Marston Moor*, so that without any difficulty, he put Provisions into the City. And had his Highness rested satisfied therewith, and gone home, all had been well. Or yet, if he had lingred till the Marquis of *Montros's* arrival, (who hasted towards him with the Men he had drawn together in the North of *England*) he had been much the stronger.

But before *Montros* could reach him, he went towards them, and engaged in Battel. At first the Success favour'd the Prince so far, that *Lesley*, *Manchester*, and *Fairfax* did all Flee many Miles (and which is more, Mr. *Robert Douglas* himself) only *Oliver Cromwell* with the Party he Commanded, and *David Lesley* with the *Scotch* Horse stood to it, and Fought so eagerly, as chang'd somewhat the Fortune of the Day, and made the Defeat to be reckon'd on Prince *Rupert's* side; which was the less, in that it being within two hours of Sun. setting before they engag'd, Night prevented an absolute Victory. This was upon *July 2d.*

Of

Of the *Scots*, there died (besides Inferiors) but one Nobleman, the Viscount of *Didop*, who, being sore wounded in the Fight, expired shortly after, and his Fall was the more remarkable, in regard, that being in his Heart a true Royalist, yet, he not only embrac'd, but (by his uttermost interest) procured to himself the Command of a Regiment, that so he might avoid the Sufferings, which all were made to endure at home that own'd the King.

After the Battel (the Earl of *Newcastle* having escap'd) the City of *York* surrender'd to *Fairfax* upon ordinary Conditions; and withal that no *Scots* should be permitted to enter. Whereupon General *Lesley* brought back his Army to *Newcastle*, to join with the Earl of *Callendar* for the carrying that Town.

Prince *Rupert* being upon his Retreat from that unfortunate Battel, the Marquis came up to him, and after Conference with his Highness, left with him his Forces.

And himself with some Noblemen and Gentlemen that attended him, came Northward to *Durham* (which yet held for the King) uncertain what Course to take; for to stay in *England*, they were in danger to be catch'd by the Parliament's Troopers, who since the Battel of *Marston Moor* spread every where, (many who before lay by, having now declar'd for them.) And to come to *Scotland* would be worse, for that he heard nothing yet of the Landing of the *Irish* in *Scotland*, notwithstanding that when he embrac'd his Com-

Commission, the Earl of *Antrim* had undertaken to his Majesty, to Land before that time 10000 *Irish* in the North of *Scotland*, to be under *Montrose's* Command: Besides, in case through Misfortunes he should happen to come into his Enemies Hands, there was no hopes of Mercy, in regard their Violence was come to that height, that now they even began to cut off Mens Heads upon Scaffolds for their Loyalty.

For on the 19th. of *July* the Laird of *Haddo* and Captain *Logie* were both Beheaded at the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*, for their being with *Huntley* in his Insurrection; and shortly after *John Maxwell* of *Logan*, in the Shire of *Dumfriesshire*, had the same measure given him in the same place, for being suppos'd to have befriended *Montrose* of late; while he was there.

And the Earl of *Crawford*, General *Ruthven*, and General *King*, were (without any citation) fore-faulted at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, and the Title and Honour of the Earl of *Crawford* bestowed upon the Earl of *Lindsey*, and he also made Treasurer of *Scotland*, instead of the four Commissioners, which in the Year 1641 the King and Parliament appointed for that effect.

These Emergents might well represent to him how dangerous it was to come home, yet (taking Necessity for his Councillor) he did resolve it, and begun next to think upon the way; Forces he had none, therefore could not come openly, and even in disguise wanted not hazard, in regard that all Passes

ses were guarded; yet he resolved upon the last.

So *Lodovick*, Earl of *Crawford*, choosing to retire to the Garrison of *Newcastle*, and the Lord *Aboyn* to stay at *Carlisle*, while he should hear from him, *Montrofs* dispatched the Lord *Ogilby*, (in whom he confided much) and with him the remnant of Gentlemen that had attended him to the King with Instructions relating to the Enterprize he was now to attempt, who were so unfortunate as to fall among some of the Parliament's Troopers as they pass'd through *Lancashire*, to whom after a hot Fight they were forced to surrender upon Quarter, and so were sent Prisoners to *Hull*, from whence the Governor thereof guarded them with a Convoy to General *Lesley* at *Newcastle*.

The Marquiss of *Montrofs* being now separated from them, himself and two only, whom he chose to attend him, viz. Colonel *Sibbald*, and Sir *William Rollock*, taking on the Habits of Troopers, ventur'd on the Journey, and without discovery arrived at the House of *Tillebilton*, (near the foot of the *Grampion Hills*) where dwelt his intimate Friend *James Graham* of *Inchbreakie*, there he lurk'd for some days, longing to hear of the *Irish* which *Antrim* had undertaken to send over; and the first thing that refreshed him was, the News that the *Scotch Parliament*, (having appointed a Committee to sit in the *interim*) had adjourn'd to the 2d. of *January* next, in regard that the Marquiss of *Argile* behoo-
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ved to go home and look to his Country, because of an Advertisement he had received, that some *Irish* were landed there; and within three days after the Course which those *Irish* had taken came to be publickly known, viz. how they first touch'd upon the Coast of the Western Lands at *Arno-Murchan*, and having there taken in and fortified the Castle of *Migrie*, and had committed to the Garrison which they settled in it the custody of two Prisoners, viz. Mr. *James Hamilton*, and Mr. *John Wier*, Ministers, whom they had taken at Sea, being on their return from *Ireland*, where they had been getting Hands to their League and Covenant.

After this they sail'd Eastward, and landed at the Isle of *Slait*, belonging to Sir *Donald Gorram*, and from thence march'd to *Badenoch*; all this came to *Montrofs's* knowledge, and the next day his joy was yet more encreas'd by a Letter sent from *Alexander Mac Donald* their Chief Commander, directed to the Marquis of *Montrofs*, and recommended to the care of *Patrick Graham* of *Inchbrekie* for dispatch, *Mac Donald* being ignorant that *Montrofs* was in *Scotland*.

Montrofs having received the Letter, wrote back to *Mac Donald*, (who yet halted at *Badenoch*) that without delay he should march down to *Atholl*, where he would meet him.

And so the next day *Montrofs* and his worthy Cousin *Inchbreakie*, (having attired themselves in the Habits of ordinary Highlanders) went away towards *Atholl*, and arriving there the next day, they met

met *Mac Donald* with his People, to their mutual Joy.

The number of the *Irish*, (instead of Ten Thousand, promised by the Earl of *Antrim*) amounted scarcely to Twelve Hundred, but so soon as *Montrose's* produced his Commission and began to Command, the Men of *Atholl* and *Badenoch*, (who had refused formerly to join with *Mac Donald*) did cordially rise, and swelled *Montrose's* Army to the number of 3000.

The News hereof was not grievous to the Young Laird of *Drumm*, and *Robert Irwin* his Brother, who after *Huntley's* disbanding, (to escape suffering) had embark'd for *Holland*, and by Storm were driven upon *Kaitnes*, where they retired to the House of a Gentleman Sir-named *Sinclair*, (in whom they had a near Interest) expecting shelter from him until the Wind should favour them; but there having been a Price set upon their Heads, his eagerness to have the Money made him betray them into the Hands of their Enemies, whereupon a Fortnight ago they had been carried Prisoners to the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*, in which place they were now waiting for their Doom.

The Committee of Estates being certified that the Marquis of *Montrose* was at the Head of the *Irish*, did presently cause an Army to be drawn out of *Fife* and *Perthshire*, in order to encounter him, ordering the People of *Fife* to be Commanded by the Lord *Elcho*, and those of *Perthshire* by the Earl of *Tillibardin*, then very furious in the Cause.

These being levied had their Rendezvous at *Perth*, whither the Lord *Kilpont* had also brought

brought from *Monteith*, and other Western parts of *Perthshire*, Four Hundred Men; but so soon as *Montrose's* descended towards his Adversaries, *Kilpont* delivered up his Men to him.

And upon Sunday the 1st. of *September* a Battel being Fought at *Tippermure*, *Montrose's* obtained an absolute Victory, notwithstanding the great odds of numbers, for the Covenanters were reckoned Six Thousand Foot, and Six Hundred Horse, whereas *Montrose's* Foot exceeded not Thirteen Hundred, (besides *Kilpont's* Men, in whom he did not confide, in that they had been brought in against their Will) and for Horse he had only three, whereof two were for his own Saddle, and the third for *Sir William Rollock's*, who being somewhat Lame from his Childhood, could not well march on Foot.

By this Victory, as *Montrose's Irish* came to be provided both of Cloaths and Arms, (whereof they had neither before) so the Committee of Estates were startled to that degree, that they resolved to send up the Lord Chancellor to *London*.

For besides those whom the Kirk had Commissionated to reside there, for concurring with the Divines at *Westminster*, the Parliament had also nominated divers to attend the Parliament of *England*, for carrying on the Confederation between them; and those named by the Parliament for that end were, the Chancellor, *Argile*, *Maittellan*, *Balmerinoch*, *Sir Charles Arskine*, *Sir Archibald Johnston*, *Hugh Kennedy* Burgefs of *Air*, and *Mr. Robert Barclay* Burgefs of *Irwin*; but it being necessary that the Chancellor, *Argile*, and *Balmerinoch*, should usually

usually stay at home, (to sit at the Helm) they therefore went not up, unless upon Solemn Occasions, whereas the rest remained always at *London*, of which they had no reason to complain, in that besides the Gratuities which they received there, they had allowed by *Scotland* for their Maintenance in *Scots Money per diem* every Earl 48 *l.* every Burgeses 24 *l.* and every Minister 18 *l.*

But the particular occasion of the Chancellor's going up at this time was said to be this, *viz.* That the King was thought to be brought so low, that the Parliament of *England* begun to believe themselves able to prosecute the Work, without the assistance of the *Scots*, and that thereupon they begun to undervalue them, and to wish to be rid of them; so that the Parliament of *Scotland*, having considered, that if the Parliament of *England* should hear the worst of *Montrose's* late Victory, it would foment that Unbrotherly Humor in them, they therefore held it necessary that the Lord Chancellor should go up to put a good face on things, and to deal for a continuance of a right understanding between the two Parliaments.

After the Victory of *Tippermuire*, the Town of *Perth* did presently surrender to *Montrose*, wherein after having stay'd three days, he crossed the River *Tay*, and marched Eastward to *Angus*, where the Earl of *Airly* (and his two Sons, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David Ogilby's*) with some of his Friends, together with the Earl of *Kinnoul*, and a few Gentlemen from the Earl of *Gowrie*, and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* from the North joined him.

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The first Place *Montrofs* call'd at in his march was *Collace*, where he was robbed of his Friend the Lord *Kilpont* by a treacherous Assassination, which *James Stuart* of *Arverlichie* committed. This Man, *Kilpont* had chosen for his intimate Friend; and altho' his Father the Earl of *Airsh* had often warned him to shake him off, yet would he not, but continued to be ruled by him in all his Affairs, and even in his joining *Montrofs* he had his Allowance and Direction. But afterwards this *Stuart* repented it, and began to think of falling off; and being witty, considered that he would not obtain pardon from the other Party, unless he did some meritorious Act wheteby to ingratiate himself: Hereupon he proposed to himself, either the killing of *Montrofs* or *Mack-donald*; and because he could hardly accomplish such a Work alone, therefore (having slept all Night by my Lord *Kilpont*) he did in the twilight of the Morning draw him out of the midst of the Army to refresh himself with a walk in the Fields, and then told him his Purpose, and (for both their good) intreated his Concurrence therein. The Lord *Kilpont* abhorred the Motion, as being most disgraceful and devilish; whereupon (without more ado) lest he should discover him, he stabbed the Nobleman ere he was aware, and immediately fled thereupon and went strait to the Marquis of *Argile*, who thought it a piece of so good Service, that he not only countenanced him and procured his Pardon for having join'd *Montrofs*, but also preferred him to a high Place of Command in the Army.

The Marquis of *Montrofs* was deeply affected with the Loss of so noble a Friend, and gave Order for conveying his Body in an honourable

ble Manner to *Monteith*, where it was interred.

After this *Montross* parted from *Collace*, and having frightened the Town of *Dundee*, continued his March through *Angus* and *Mearns*, towards the Shire of *Aberdeen*; having greatest Expectation of Peoples joining him in the Northern Parts.

And the Committee of Estates having put the Commission upon the Marquis of *Argile* and the Earl of *Lothian*, to go against him, *Argile* with his *Highlanders* came upon the 5th of *September* to *Sterlin*, and next Day the Earl of *Lothian* also. There they levied very quickly the Men of *Sterlineshire*, as also brought *Lothian's* Regiment (which not long before had come over from *Ireland*) and with those they marched forward upon the 10th to *St. Johnston*, where the People of *Fife* met them, as also two Regiments of Horse from *Newcastle*, called Home for that End, viz. the Lord *Bargenny's* Regiment and Sir *Fredrick Hamilton's*.

And thus being made as strong as they desired, they began their march from *St. Johnston* towards *Aberdeenshire* upon the 14th Day.

When the first News that occur'd to them was concerning another Victory *Montross* had upon the 12th Day obtained at *Aberdeen*, in this manner; The Lord *Burleigh* being there to execute some Commands put upon him by the Committee of Estates (hearing of *Montross's* being in those Parts) call'd to him the *Forbeses* and the *Fraizers*, (all which were furious in the Cause) with such of the Name of *Gordon* as chose to follow (the Marquis of *Huntley's* Son) *Lodovic Gordon*, who was there in Person; and they being got together, brought forth also the Citizens of *Aberdeen*, and
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the Lord *Elcho's* Regiment, which at that time quartered there to keep the Country in order.

Montrofs hearing thereof, marched towards them, and after some dispute, obtained an absolute Victory, although their Numbers at that time also were very unequal; for of Foot they were reckoned to be above 2500, and of Horse 500; whereas *Montrofs* had of Horse 44, and Foot scarce 1600. The Men of *Athol* and *Badenoch*, which after *Tippermore* Fight had gone Home with the Spoil, not being yet returned; and *Kilponi's* Men all stole away since his Death.

After the Battel, *Montrofs* had the Town surrendered to him; where he shewed great Mercy, both pardoning the People and protecting their Goods. And having refreshed his Army there for two Days, did (upon the 15th) march Northward.

Argile and *Lothian* with their Army followed him, yet with such slowness, that in *Montrofs's* whole Progress throughout the North of Scotland, they never came up to him, and when upon the 4th of *October* he returned to *Athol*, they were eight Days march behind him.

Whereupon *Montrofs* rested his Army there, until he had dispatched *Mac Donald* with a Party of 500 Men towards the Far Highlands, to invite the Laird of *Mac Lane*, the Captain of *Clairanald* and others to join him; and then marched down to *Dunkeld*, and from thence Eastward through *Angus*, toward *Brechin* and *Montrofs*, where he staid 10 Days refreshing himself and his Army.

And all this while it was wondred what had become of *Argile* and *Lothian*, with their Army, but at length upon *October* 14. they came to *Athol*, and descending towards the *Stormont*, went

East through *Angus* after *Montros*, who by that time was marched towards the North again.

In the mean time the Committee of Estates and Commission of the General Assembly, were very angry, that he was not already swallowed up, and exercised their Wrath upon such as they could reach.

So by their Order the Earl of *Heartfel*, the Laird of *Hempsfield*, with divers of the Name of *Maxwel*, were imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. And of *Montros*'s Friends (to bear them Company) the Laird of *Fintry* the younger, the Master of *Meaderly*, the Lairds of *Breako*, *Urchel* and *Inchbreakie* the elder : And in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh* were put Captain *Melvil*, *Henry Graham Montros*'s Natural Brother, (and *Andrew Graham* his Servant) who being taken in the North of *England*, had been sent hither to the Committee: As also *Archibald Lord Napier*, *Montros*'s Brother-in-Law, *Archib.* Master of *Napier* his Son, and Sir *Geo. Sterling* of *Keir* his Son-in-Law, all confined to the Lord *Napier*'s Lodgings or Apartment in *Holy-rood-house*, not to stir from thence, each of them under pain of 1000 *l.* Sterling.

Likewise divers Assassins were secretly employed (and large Rewards promised them for it) to murder *Montros* and *Mac Donald*, and for that End had Permission given them to join their Army, whereby they might have the better Opportunity ; but Providence disappointed that Plot.

The Commission of the General Assembly excommunicated Col. *Nathaniel Gordon*, and appointed a Fast to be kept throughout the Kingdom, and in their Armies at Home and Abroad, upon the last Sabbath of *October* and *Wednesday* follow-

following, for Success against *Montros*. And ere the Diet thereof came, they were lifted up with the News they received aient the taking of *Newcastle*, which upon the 9th Day was taken by Storm, yet without much Blood. Sir *James Lumsdale* was made Governour of it, and *James Sword* Burgefs of *St. Andrews*, Collector of the Customs. They found in it, and made Prisoners, *Lodovick*, Earl of *Crawford*, Lords *Maxwel* and *Rays*, *Thomas Ogilby* of *Powry*, and *Dr. Wisbart*, Minister thereof, who were all sent Home to *Edinburgh*, and at their arrival it was debated in the Committee (at the Instigation of some of the most violent Ministers) whether *Crawford* should presently be beheaded or delayed for some Days, that he might suffer in Company with the rest; and by plurality of Voices the last carried it, so that they were altogether shut up in the Tollbooth.

And shortly after the Lord *Ogilby* (who of a long time had been the General's Prisoner) was also sent down; and by the Committee's Appointment, quartered in the Tollbooth with the rest.

These Emergents kept up their Hearts, though otherwise much perplexed because of *Montros's* Success.

In the mean time *Argile* and *Lothian* were following him Northward; and though he could easily have outmarched them, yet, to try if they intended to face him, he halted for some Days at *Eyvie*, which they understood not until they were close by him, thereupon followed some Skirmishes, but they declined to engage in Battel; neither did the Ground give him such Advantage as to constrain them to fight.

It was there that *Argile* and *Lothian* drew away from *Montrofs*, *Kinnoul*, *Col. Hay*, *Col. Sibbald* and almost all the *Lowland Men* that had joined him (except only the *Earl of Airly* and his Sons, who never left him.) Nor was *Montrofs* much displeased therewith, considering that they could hardly have endured the Winter Toil. And for *Nathaniel Gordon* his deserting was by *Montrofs's* direct Allowance, that so he might have Opportunity to deal with his young Chief the *Lord Gordon*, to join, wherein he proved both faithful and successful.

Montrofs having left *Fife*, marched to *Fren-dracht*, from thence to *Strabogie*, and afterwards throughout the rest of those *Highlands*, until he came to *Athol*, where he was met by *Mac Donald*, and with him the Laird of *Mac Lean*, the Captain of *Clanranald* and their Men, which made up a very great Recruit. *Glengarvie* had formerly joined and persever'd to the End.

In all this march from *Fyvie* to *Athol*, *Argile* and *Lothian* never came up to him; and having at length heard of the joining of those *Highlanders*, they became weary of their Employment.

And without more ado went to *Edinburgh*, and delivered up their Commissions to the Committee of Estates, receiving from them an Act of Approbation of their Service, which many said they deserved the better, because they had shed no Blood.

The Posture of Affairs at that Period of Time wrought a great Change in People; many who had formerly been violent, began to talk moderately of Business. And what was most taken Notice of, was the Luke-warmness of many amongst

mongst the Ministry, who now in their Preaching, had begun to abate much of their former Zeal.

This gall'd the Commission of the General Assembly, and for Remedy, having the Pretext of a Quarrel against Mr. *George Halyburton* Minister of *Perth*, and Mr. *John Graham* Minister of *Auchterarder*, because upon a pressing Occasion, they did once speak with *Montross*, at his being in the Town of *Perth*; so that, without any other Cause so much as alledged, they did formally depose them both upon *Novemb. 27.* whereby others might have Warning to take heed of their Walking.

The Commission did also at that time conclude of a National Fast, to be observed upon the first Sabbath in *January* next.

And farther, upon Advertisement from the Commissioners at *London*, concerning the State of the Reformation, the Commission concluded upon the calling a General Assembly to meet at *Edinburgh* upon *January 22.* and for that effect, dispatched Letters to the several Presbyteries, to send Commissioners against that Day.

Since *Argyle* and *Lothian* gave up their Commissions, the Committee had been thinking on whom to pitch; at length they resolved upon Major-General *Baylie*, and commissioned him to be their Commander in Chief in the Northern Expedition: Who appointed his first Rendezvous at *Perth* (where the Lord *Maitland's* Regiment quartered) and called thither *Crawford Lindsey's* Regiment from *Dundee*, and the Remainder of *Elcho's* Regiment from *Aberdeen*, expecting more to be sent him shortly from *Newcastle*.

In the mean time *Montrofs* marched in a full Body to *Broadalbin*, *Glenricart's* Countrey ; which the Marquis of *Argile* having understood, hasted away from *Edinburgh* towards his own Countrey, to levy his *Highlanders*, upon an Apprehension that from *Broadalbin*, *Montrofs* would direct his Course thither.

And so it fell out, *Glenribrart's* Lands being waisted by him, he marched straight to *Innery* (the Marquis's Chief Dwelling) upon the Knowledge whereof, his Lordship was so frightened, that long before *Montrofs* came near him, he fled to a Boat, whereby he escaped, having left his Friends to shift for themselves.

So without any Opposition *Montrofs* waisted his Countrey, but shed no Blood, in regard that all the People (following their Lord's laudable Example) delivered themselves by flight also.

By this time Sir *John Urry* being returned, was by the Committee appointed Major-General under *Baylie* : He had first fought on the Parliament's Side against the King ; afterwards turned over for the King, and fought under Him against Them ; now having abandoned both Sides, came Home, and embraced this Charge against *Montrofs* ; and many prophesied, That ere all were done, he would change again, and join himself to *Montrofs*, which at length came to pass.

Baylie, and with him *Crawford Lindsey*, (knowing of *Montrofs's* being in *Argile*) did in the end of *December* march West to *Dumbarton*, intending (as they professed) for *Argile*, to encounter him there. And at *Dumbarton* they found the Marquis of *Argile* himself (having, upon his Flight from *Innery*, retreated thither for shelter) who promised to shew them the Way.

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But having the next Day gotten certainty that *Montrofs* had removed from that Countrey, and marched away towards *Glencoe* and *Lochaber*; *Baylie* and *Crawford* (parting from the Marquis) brought back their Army to *Angus*, resolving to march Northwards to the Shire of *Aberdeen*; and from thence go up to *Montrofs*, where-soever they could find him.

And the Marquis of *Argile* knowing well that the Enemy was gone, went Home with Pomp and convened all his Friends from their Lurking-Places, to follow upon *Montrofs's* Rear. And to make his Power the more formidable, called over from *Ireland* Sir *Duncan Cambel* of *Auchinbreak*, a Colonel in the Scotch Army there, and divers other Commanders of his Name.

The Project was, that when *Baylie's* Army did charge *Montrofs* in the Front, *Argile* and his Men (who were till then to march slowly and keep at a distance) should come up and fall upon his Rear, whereby he might inevitably be swallowed up.

1645.

UPon the 2d of *January*, 1645. the Scotch Parliament met at *Edinburgh*, and by Authority thereof, the Marquis of *Montrofs* and Earl of *Airly* were forefaulted, and their Estates seized upon. Thereafter they passed amongst all of that Faction under the Names of *James Graham* and *James Ogilby*; and it was reckoned no small Malignancy to stile or distinguish them by their Titles.

The Parliament did also approve and ratifie the Act of the late Convention of Estates concerning the Excise.

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The Progress in other Matters was the slower, until they should fully know what might be the Tendency of that Controversie lately fallen out betwixt *Manchester* and *Oliver Cromwel* his Lieutenant-General, whereby the Army was in hazzard to divide.

For now *Cromwel* had accused before the House of Commons *Manchester* for betraying their Army at *Davington Castle*, and for other Things, as *Manchester* had also accused him in the House of Lords, for plotting a Parity in the State, and Independency in the Church.

Many at first were of opinion that *Manchester* would prevail, but the contrary fell out, and that upon this Occasion.

By this time the Independent Faction, (whereunto *Cromwel* joined, preaching and praying as fast as any of them) was now become predominant in the House of Commons; and they having designs, wherein *Essex*, *Manchester* and divers other prime Commanders, would not go along with them, did therefore intend to lay them aside: And to effect this, they framed and passed an Act, That during that Parliament (*Cromwel* excepted) no Member thereof should have any Office Military or Civil, whereby they might the better attend the House.

Hereby were cashier'd *Essex*, *Manchester*, *Stanford* and *Denby*, and the Power of the Sword brought wholly into the Hands of the Commons.

Whereupon followed the new Model, wherein *Sir Thomas Fairfax* was made General, and *Cromwel* his Lieutenant General; for he not being yet eminent enough to command in Chief, behoved (for the Credit of the Parliament) to have one
above

above him: Yet that the Power might reside in him, they pitched upon one, who they presumed, would not obscure him.

The General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh* upon *Jan. 22.* at which time every one had in his Hand that Book lately published by Mr. *Samuel Rutherford* (entituled *Lex Rex*) which was stuffed with Positions, that in the time of Peace and Order, would have been judged damnable Treasons; yet were now so idolized, that whereas in the beginning of the Work, *Buchanan's* Treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was looked upon as an Oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted (as not *Anti-Monarchical* enough) and *Rutherford's Lex Rex* only thought Authentick.

Unto the Assembly, came Mr. *Baylie* and Mr. *Gilespy* from *London*, and after a long Discourse, presented a Directory for Worship, which having been framed by the Divines at *Westminster* was sent for this Assembly's Approbation.

The said Directory being perused by a Committee nominated for that Effect, and a Report made concerning their Satisfaction therewith, it was ratified by the Assembly.

The Proceedings of the Commission of the last Assembly being examined, were approved, and the Assembly's Thanks given them for their Fidelity and Diligence; as also a new Committee (consisting of those same Members) established for the Year following.

Thereafter the Assembly sent Mr. *Dick*, *Blair*, *Cant* and some others, to present to the Parliament the Directory, and to desire the Ratification thereof, which was heartily granted.

Thus all went well, and there was great Rejoycing both in the Assembly and Parliament. But the

the same was soon checked by an Advertisement they received of a third Victory *Montrofs* had obtained at *Innerlochy*, upon *Febr. 2.* whereof the Story was thus.

Whilst *Montrofs* was on his march Eastward towards *Murray*, he had Notice from *Allan Mac Kolduie* of *Lochaber*, that *Argile* with all his Power was following him in the Rear, and knowing that both *Baylie* and *Urry* were before him, he considered, that if he suffered himself to be attacked both before and behind, he might run a Risque; therefore instead of marching forward, he turned about and went to speak with *Argile*.

The Country-People favouring him, *Argile* heard nothing concerning his returning, until the second Day of his marching at Even, when he was come the full length, and had pitched close by *Argile's* Army.

The next Morning betimes the Work began, but ere then the Marquis had provided for his own Safety, by taking himself to his Boat again, and with him (to bear him Company) the Laird of *Nidry*, Sir *James Rollock* of *Dincrub*, *Archibald Sydserf* Bailiff of *Edingburb*, and Mr. *Mungo Law* Minister thereof, whom he had invited to go along with him to bear witness to the Wonders he purposed to perform in that Expedition.

From his Boat he looked and saw the Day lost, and most Part of his Friends cut off, the Number of the Slain on his side, being acknowledged by some few that escaped, to have exceeded 1500. Col. *John Cockburn* and Col. *John Roch*, with some others, retired to the Old Castle of *Inner-Lochie*, and held it out till they procured Quarter for their Lives and Liberties, which was granted

granted upon Oath never more to carry Arms against *Montros* : For the Observation whereof, they were afterwards dispensed with from going to the Field, and instead thereof Col. *Cockburn* appointed Governour of *Sterlin Castle*, and Col. *Roach* of the Town of *Perth*.

The Earl of *Calendar* did not take it well, that his Regiment being in the Castle of *Sterlin*, Col. *Cockburn* should be set over his Lieutenant-Colonel, but it having pleased the Parliament so to do, his Business was to be quiet.

On *Montros*'s side (except Sir *Thomas Ogilby*, Son to the Earl of *Airly*) there were only three killed, and those common Soldiers; whereof the Reason was said to be, that the *Argilians* (being discourag'd by reason of their Lords withdrawing) never stood to it, but fled at the first, and were all cut down in the Flight.

This Defeat at *Inner-Lochy* caused great Sadness both in Parliament and Assembly, yet was much the better digested, because of the Marquis his Personal Safety, who upon *Feb. 11.* arrived at *Edinburgh*, and went straight to the Parliament, having his left Arm tyed up in a Scarf, as if he had been at Bones-breaking.

There he did give an Account of that unfortunate Expedition; whereupon the next Day the Lord *Balmerinock* did in the General Assembly make a Discourse in reference thereto, wherein he affirmed, That the great Loss reported to be sustained at that Fight, was but the Invention of Malignants, who spake as they wished it; and that upon his Honour, the Marquis of *Argile* had not thirty Persons killed in the whole.

The contrary being certainly known, many thought strange, that he who was a Nobleman could

could speak so in a Publick Audience : Yet credulous and deluded People believed him, and upon that Account began to be jovial again.

But shortly after came Certainty from *England* of an Emergent which contributed more to their Joy ; and it was that the Treaty betwixt the King and Parliament, held at *Uxbridge* on *Jan. 30.* was now broken up, and all Hope of Accommodation gone ; for which his Majesty did much blame the Scotch Commissioners at *London*, who were the better beloved, because their greatest Intimacy was with that Party in the Parliament that crushed it.

In the meantime, the General Assembly sent in Mr. *David Dick*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, Mr. *James Guthrie*, and Mr. *Patrick Gilespy* to the Parliament, to press the Execution of the Earl of *Crauford*, Lord *Ogilby* and all the rest of the Prisoners in the Tollbooth, which the Parliament commended as an Act of great Zeal and Piety in the Assembly ; yet deferred the Performance for a time, until *Montross* should be brought lower ; lest otherwise if through Misfortune any of their Friends happened to fall into his Hands, he might repay it. And next after this Address to the Parliament, the Assembly resolved to shew an Act of Mercy themselves, in restoring of Mr. *George Halyburton* to his Ministry at *Perth*, and Mr. *John Graham* to his Ministry at *Auchterarder*, which came to pass in this manner.

Dame *Margaret Halyburton*, Lady of *Cauper*, came over the *Firth*, and with Oaths vowed to my Lord *Balmerinoch*, that unless he caused her Cousin to be re-instated he should never enjoy the Favour of the Lordship of *Couper*. This Commination set *Balmerinoch* at work for him. And as to the other

other, Mr. *Graham*, the Earl of *Lanrick* pressed the like on his Behalf, being moved thereto because his Wife was a *Hamilton*, descended from that Archbishop of *St. Andrews* who suffered at *Sterlin*.

Lanrick and *Balmerinloch* being Solicitors for them, the Assembly yielded to their Re-establishment, but with two Proviso's, which those Noblemen consented to. The first was, That they should make their Repentance upon their Knees before the respective Presbyteries, and over again before the Synodical Assembly; and that the Testimony thereof being brought unto the Commission of the General Assembly, the said Commission should restore them; all which was performed. The other Proviso was, That lest the Indulgence extended to them should encourage others to Malignancy, an Act should be presently made by the Assembly, That after them none that happened to be deposed should ever after be restored to the Kirks at which they had formerly served, which Act was voted and concluded.

So the General Assembly rose upon *Febr. 13.* having first appointed the Meeting of the next General Assembly to be at *Edinburgh*, upon the first *Wednesday* of *June, 1646.*

Montrose having (after the Action at *Inner-Lochy*) refreshed his Army with some Days rest, marched Eastward towards *Murray*, where (at *Elgin*) he kept his Committees peaceably, and to him joined the Lord *Gordon* and his Friends, the Laird of *Grant's* Men, and divers considerable *Highlanders*.

Upon the Hearing whereof the Parliament was much affected; and many thought that the Grief which it caused to the Earl of *Lauderdale* hastened him to his Grave, who was buried upon *March 5.*

And

And in his Place *Crawford Lindsey* was made President of the Council : (such was the Power of the *Hamiltonian Faction* at that time.) After which, that all Men might be at leisure to suppress these Rogues, the Parliament hasted to a Conclusion.

So three Committees were nominated, one to repair to the Army in *England*, whereof *Argile* was the Principal ; another to sit at the *Helm* in *Edinburgh*, and of it the Chief was *Balmerinock* ; the third to go along with *Baylie* against *Montros* ; this consisted of *Crawford Lindsey* and of *Lanrick* and his Clients. And upon the 8th of *March* the Parliament adjourned to the 2d of *June* following.

Montros being now much strengthened by his late Recruits, marched Southward to *Aberdeen*, and from thence through the *Mearns*, whereupon *Baylie* (with his Committee) brought up his Army to meet them, the length of English Madie. And there for the space of two Days (*viz.* the 29th and 30th of *March*) the Armies were in view of each other ; so that *Montros* prepared for Battel, but *Baylie* and his Committee declined it ; whereupon he removed Westwards to the River of *Tay* ; and *Baylie* came to be blamed for letting that Opportunity slip, (although it was so resolved by his Committee's Advice.)

And shortly after he sustained a greater Blame, for suffering *Montros* to make such a handfom and safe Retreat from his desperate Attempt at *Dundee* ; yet in this he had *Urry* to bear a part of the Censure.

And the Truth was, they were more afraid to engage than *Montros* was, which being observed, the Committee at *Edinburgh* thought upon a Way
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how they might be made stronger, and for that End dispatched a Message to *Ireland* for a thousand disciplined Men to be sent Home to join them.

These came over quickly, having Col. *Home* their Leader, and that afterwards they might bring *Montrofs* into a * *Hose-net*, * A Trap, they resolved to divide their Army in *ora Pound*. two; one to go North under Sir *John Urry's* command, and the other under *Baylie*, to stay in *Angus* and about the *Low Countrey*, to be ready upon Occasion.

Urry marched presently towards *Aberdeen*, carrying with him one Regiment of Horse, and two of Foot (*viz.* the Chancellor's and *Crawford Lindsey's*) and at *Aberdeen* came to him a Regiment from *Southerland*, and *Lawer's* Regiment from *Innerness*.

Baylie with his Army, reckoned to be 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, quartered at *Killmore*. In the mean time *Montrofs* (having dispatched *Mac Donald* to the *Highlands* to make up Levies, and sent *Inchbreakie*, Colonel of *Athol*, to bring forth those People, whereof the most Part had (after the Battel of *Innerlochy*) gotten Furlofs until they should be called for, himself went with his Army Westward, towards *Monteith*, there to receive the Lord *Aboyn*, whose Resolutions were made known to him by Letter, who having but 16 Horse, did notwithstanding all the Garisons, come from *Carlisle*, without Molestation to the Ford of *Cardrofs*, where *Montrofs* and he met to their mutual Joy.

Baylie followed Westward, and therefore *Mac Donald* (knowing *Montrofs* not to be strong enough for a Battel, in regard of his and *Inch-*

breakie's Absence with their Regiments) resolved to make a Diverſion, and fell down (before they were aware) upon the *Campbel's* in the Lordſhip of *Couper*, killing ſuch of them as came into his Hands; whereof Notice being given to *Baylie*, he and his Committee drew back their Army to take Order with *Mac Donald*; and ſo *Montroſs* had a clear Paſſage to the *North*, accompanied (beſides the Lord *Aborn*) with another Stranger, and this was his Nephew *Archibald*, Maſter of *Napier*, a gallant Youth both for Body and Mind. He (having ſince *Montroſs* went firſt to the Field, been in company with his Noble Father the Lord *Napier* and Sir *George Sterlin* of *Keir*, his Brother-in-Law, under Confinement in *Holy-rood-houſe*) reſolved at length to break looſe, and getting ſafely away, he came to his Uncle at *Cardroſs*, upon *Monday, April 21*.

But his Eſcape procured from the Committee hard Meaſure to his Friends, whom he left behind; for the Lord *Napier* his Father, and the Lord of *Keir*, were preſently made Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and not long after Dame *Elizabeth Ereſkin* (Daughter to the Earl of *Mar*) his Lady, and Mrs. *Lilias Napier* his Siſter, were ſent after them to bear them Company, and his other Siſter the Lady *Keir* confined to *Merchiſton*.

At that time fell out an Accident, which prov'd very prejudicial to the King's Affairs; this was the catching of a Meſſenger that paſſed betwixt him and *Montroſs*. The Man was *James Small*, Son to the Laird of *Fotherance*, which (through the Decay of that Family) now belongs to Sir *George Halyburton*, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice. This Gentleman having ſerved

ved long at the Court of *England*, did undertake to his Majesty to hazzard himself in bringing a Packet of Letters to *Montros*, for effecting whereof he put on a Beggar's Habit, and so went safely through to the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, where he found *Montros* at that time; but in his return had not the like good Fortune; for having passed the River of *Firth* at *Alway*, (where he needed not fear bodily Harm, the Noble Family of *Mar* being all generally Loyal) he was at *Elphinston* (thro' the officiousness of a Fellow that had known him at Court) discovered, and the Letters which he carried back taken from him, and himself (with them) sent next Day by my Lord *Elphinston* to the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*, who caused him to be hanged on the Morrow at the Cross of *Edinburgh*. This was on *May 1*.

By these Letters the Committee came to know what they never had thought on, *viz.* how (the King's Business being so forlorn in *England*, that he could not make head against his Enemies there) his Majesty designed to come with his Army to *Scotland*, and to join *Montros*; that so this Countrey being made the Seat of War, his Enemies might be forced to an Accommodation, to free their Land from a Burthen, which it could not stand under.

The Prevention of which Design was afterwards gone about with Success.

Montros in the mean time having, after his parting from *Cardross*, levied the *Athol* Men, (as he passed through the Country) went Northward to seek an Encounter with *Urry*. And so soon as *Baylie* and his Committee had certainty that *Montros* (and with him the *Athol* Men) were

all gone, they resolved to march up to *Athol* and burn the Countrey: Which having valiantly performed (while there was none at Home to make Resistance) they returned to *Angus* again, and after thought upon a March Northward to *Aberdeen*.

But ere this was concluded, they had certain Advice of another Victory obtained by *Montrose* over *Urry* at *Old Earn*, upon *May 4*. *Urry's* Strength consisting of five Regiments of Foot (besides Horse) to wit, *Lothian's* and *Loudon's* Regiments (both which he had carried to the North with him) *Lawer's* Regiment (which came from *Innernefs* to him) and another of the Earl of *Seaforth's* Men, &c. The Victory, as it was absolute and bloody, so was it the more remarkable, in that neither *Grant's* Men, nor the *Mac Lanes* were there, (being upon other Employments) and few of the *Athol* Men, most of them being gone Home after they heard that their Country was burned.

This Victory was very sad News both to the Committee of Estates and to the Committee of the General Assembly, whereupon they met, to advise by what Means People might be kept in a Dependence upon them, and not (because of their Enemies prevailing) fall away.

And for as much as the Pulpits had great Influence upon the Resolutions of the Multitude, therefore the Committee sent out a Warning to the Ministry, wherein they charged them to stand fixed (and by their Doctrine to endeavour that their People might be so also) under pain of Deposition; and that their Commination might not be despised, they were now and then deposing some of them (in the mean time) to fright
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the rest ; as Mr. *John Robertson* Minister of *Perth*, Mr. *James Row* Minister of *Muthel*, Mr. *William Barclay* Minister of *Falkland*, and Mr. *John Fife* Minister of *Fowles*, all which were that Year already cashiered.

But whilst those Meetings at *Edinburgh* were troubled about *Montross's* late Victory, they had a Cordial from *England* (which was the fatal Overthrow his Majesty sustained at *Naseby*) whereby the Prejudice he received by the Discovery of those Letters, for which Mr. *James Small* suffered at *Edinburgh*, came to be generally understood : For while the King was on his march towards *Scotland*, some false-hearted Men about him (whom he trusted more than they deserved) prevailed with him to lay aside that Design, and turn *South*, toward *Northamptonshire* where (as They confidently averred) four Counties had associated for him, and were in a readiness to join him ; but when he came there, instead of those associated Counties, he found *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, with their new-modelled Army, waiting upon him, who forced him to a Battel, and obtained such a Victory, as quite ruined his Business : This was upon the 14th of *June*.

The Certainty hereof being come, the Committee gave Orders for Bonfires, and all other Signs of Joy throughout the Land, and such as joined not therein, were taken Notice of as Enemies to the Publick.

Yet shortly hereafter they met with a new Cause of Grief, and this was another Victory *Montross* obtained over *Baylie* at *Alford*, upon *July 2*.

For *Urry* having been defeated, *Baylie* (with the Advice of his Committee) went *North* to repay it ; but had such Fortune as the other. For albeit the Numbers were very unequal, yet *Montrofs's* Victory over him was both absolute and bloody, whereas on his side very few did fall, except the Lord *Gordon*, with whose death *Montrofs* was said to be exceedingly affected, and ordered his Body to be buried very honourably at *Aberdeen*.

By this time the Pestilence, which from *Newcastle* came to *Kelfo*, was from thence transmittted to *Edinburgh*, and there raged so, that when the Diet (unto which the Parliament had been adjourned) was come, they sat down in *Sterlin-Castle* upon the 2d of *July*, and some Days after *Baylie* himself, and with him the Lord *Balcarras*, (who by timely flying had escaped the Battel as well as he) arrived both at *Sterlin* and went to the Parliament. *Balcarras* was welcomed by them, but as for *Baylie*, they were so ill satisfied with him, that he had much difficulty to obtain an Act of Approbation of his Service.

The Parliament sat at *Sterlin* until the 12th Day, at which time the Pestilence beginning to break out in that Town, they behoved to think of a Removal, and so adjourned themselves until the 24th of that Month, to sit at *Perth*, having first appointed a great Levy to be made for destroying their Enemies, viz. all Noblemen, Gentlemen and Heretors whatsoever to be at *Perth* in Person, and well mounted before the said 24th Day. And for Tenants and Servants to make up a Foot Army, 10000 to be brought forth from the Shires by *South Tay*, according to the Proportions

portions calculated thereanent. *Montrofs* having heard of this Muster which was to be at *Perth*, came forth against the Day and pitched in *Messen Wood*.

And indeed on their Part convened very many (more than double *Montrofs's* Number) yet they attempted nothing until after some Days, but halted on the South-side of *Earn*, when perceiving that the *Gordons*, (in whom consisted *Montrofs's* Strength as to his Horse) were not there, they advanced towards him, but to no purpose.

For *Montrofs* not being minded to fight at that time, retired at his leisure (without either Loss or Affront) towards *Dunkeld*, to attend the *Gordons* and others whom he was expecting to come up; and they went back to their Leager, after which most of them, both Horse and Foot, (that had been newly levied) retired Home, and very few remained with *Argile*, *Lanerick*, *Crawford* and *Baylie* (who since the Parliament's sitting at *Sterlin*, were all Joint-Commanders) except the old Regiments.

By this time the *Gordons* and other Recruits, being come to *Montrofs* (whereby he was at his greatest Strength) he returned towards them, and endeavoured to draw them to a Battel.

But they declined it, and intrenched themselves at *Kirgirston*, professing that so soon as the *Fife* Men (for whom they had sent) arrived, they would then take Order with him.

Montrofs marched away first to *Kinross*, and then Westward towards *Sterlin*, where in the Way *Mac Lane* and his People burn'd the Parishes of *Muckait* and *Doller*, belonging to the Marquis of *Argile*, in requital of the like formerly done by him in *Mac Lane's* Countrey, as they acknowledged.

The Day whereon *Montrofs* had marched from *Kinrofs* towards the *West*, he quartered his Army at Night in the Wood of *Tullybody* near *Alway*, where, though his *Irish* did barbarously plunder that Town and Lordship, yet the Earl of *Mar* and Lord *Ereskin* and their Noble Ladies, dispensed therewith, and the next Day invited him and his prime Officers to Dinner.

So he appointed *Mac Donald* to march Westward with the Foot Army, and bringing his Horse for a Guard, himself and the Earl of *Airly* and many more were liberally feasted in the Castle of *Alway*, after which (having Notice of the Enemies advancing towards them) they made the greater haste to overtake their Foot.

And being met, and considering the Town of *Sterlin* was consumed by the Pestilence, resolved to pass by it, and so crossed both the *Teith* and *Forth* two Miles to the Northward of it, and from thence marched on to *Kilsyth*, where they found the Ground so advantageous for them, as made them resolve to halt there, until their Enemies should come that length, which very shortly fell out.

For so soon as *Montrofs* had marched Westward from *Kinrofs*, three Regiments of *Fife-Men*, reckoned at 3000, (whereof one commanded by the Laird of *Cammo*, a 2d by the Laird of *Ferny*, and the 3d by the Laird of *Fordel Henderson*) did join the *Coventers Army*; as also did one Regiment of *Argile's Highlanders*, reckoned to be 1200; and being thus strengthened, it was resolved that *Lane-rick* should presently ride to the West-Country, and with the Concurrence of *Glencarn* and *Eglinton*, there levy an Army to come towards *Montrofs*; and this Army commanded by *Argile*,
Craw-

Crawford and *Baylie* to follow him in the Rear; whereby the one being behind and the other before him, he might be brought into a Noose.

Lanerick went presently away for that end, and *Argile*, *Crawford* and *Baylie* marched Westward in the very Path which *Montrofs* had traced. And as they advanced towards *Sterlin*, the Marquis of *Argile* caused to be burnt the House of *Monstry*, belonging to the Earl of *Sterlin*, his Majesty's Secretary, and the House of *Athray*, belonging to Sir *John Graham* of *Breako*, and withal sent Advertisement to the Earl of *Mar*, That after their return from following their Enemies, he might expect to have his Castle of *Alway* burned, for the Hospitality *Montrofs* had found in it.

But Providence determined otherwise, for of those they carried *West* very few returned again.

And it would appear, that the *Fife-Men* expected no better of it, for when they were come the length of *Sterlin*, they refused obstinately to march farther, alledging, that when they were levied it had been promised them, that they should not be urged to go beyond the Limits of their own Shire, and therefore having now (out of good will) come much farther, they would on no Terms cross the River of *Forth*.

But their Leaders set their Ministers on work to deal with them, who told them jolly Tales, that *Lanerick*, *Glencarn* and *Eglinton* were lifting an Army to join them, and therefore entreated that they would for only one Day more go on, until that *Westland* Army approached, and then they should be discharged, whereunto those poor People consented, and so went as far as *Kilfyrh*, from whence few or none of them returned.

For

For upon *August* the 15th there followed a Battel at *Kilfyth*, wherein *Montrofs* carried an absolute Victory: Their Foot which were reckoned 7000, being wholly cut off in the Flight, except very few Straglers that escaped: Yet no Loss on *Montrofs's* side, except 7 or 8 Persons, (whereof three were Gentlemen of the Name of *Ogilby*, the rest but Common Soldiers.) The reason whereof was because the Covenanters never stood to it, but upon the first Charge given by the Earl of *Airly* and his Friends, did all fly on a sudden, their Horse riding over the Foot, and among the Horse the Nobles the first of any. But beyond them all the Marquis of *Argile*, who never looked over his Shoulder until after 20 Miles riding, he reached the South *Queensferry*, where he possessed himself of a Boat again.

Lanrick and *Glencarn* and the rest (who in the mean time were about their Levies) having heard of this Defeat which their Friends had sustained, left off their Work. And both they and the Nobles that had fled from *Kilfyth*, made it their first Care to provide for a Shelter: For *Glencarn* and *Cassels* fled over to *Ireland*; and to *Berwick* went the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Lindsey*, *Lanerick*, and others.

After the Battel, *Montrofs* staid two Days at *Kilfyth* to refresh his Army; and by that time came from the City of *Glasgow* two Commissioners, viz. Sir *Robert Douglass* and Mr. *Archibald Flemming* Commissary, to congratulate his Victory, and to invite him to honour their Town with a Visit.

Whereupon next Day, being accompanied with his Army, he went thither, and was received with
much

much Solemnity, and with an Acknowledgment of by-past Disloyalty, for which they begged his Mercy.

And thence removing to *Bothwel* Kirk, the Shire of *Linlithgoe* sent Commissioners to him for that same end; and which is more, so did the Shire of *Renfrow* and others in the West; *Bishopton*, *Greenoch* and *Douchalls* Junior, were their Commissioners (who acknowledged Rebellion as fast as any, laying the blame thereof upon their Ministers) yea, and so did also the Burghs of *Irwin* and *Aire*.

Montrofs pardoned them all upon their Promises of exemplary Loyalty for the future, whereunto they did solemnly engage themselves, and so were discharged.

After this, *Montrofs* sent *Mac Donald* with a Party to the West, to fright them that had not come to express their Submission, and to him all did Homage; and no where found he so hearty a Welcome as at *Loudon-Castle*, where the Chancellor's Lady embraced him in her Arms, and having treated him very sumptuously, sent afterwards her Servant *John Haldan* with him, to present her Service to the Marquis of *Montrofs*.

Montrofs's next Care was for the Prisoners in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, who had been sentenced to death, viz. *Lodovick* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Ogilby* and *Raes*, the Lairds of *Drumm*, *Powry* *Ogilby*, and Dr. *Wishart* (for before this time *Drumm's* Brother *Robert Irwin* died in the Prison) so for their sakes he dispatched his Nephew *Archibald* Master of *Napier*, and with him *Nathaniel Gordon*, to receive into Protection the City of *Edinburgh*, and to bring from thence those

those Prisoners, which they did; as also at *Lithgoe*, finding two Prisoners more, viz. *Archibald Lord Napier*, and *Sir George Sterlin* of *Kier* his Son-in-Law (who, because the Pestilence raged in *Edinburgh-Castle*, had obtained so much Favour, as to be transported from it to the Prison of *Lithgoe*) he brought them with the rest, all which were most welcome to *Montross*.

At the same time also joined to him divers of the Nobility, viz. the Marquis of *Douglas*, the Earls of *Anandale* and *Heartfel*, the Lords *Ereskin*, *Seaton*, *Drummond*, *Flemming*, *Johnston* and *Meadertie*, and divers Knights and Gentlemen also, among whom was *Sir John Hamelton* of *Orbiston* Justice-Clerk, and *Archibald Primrose* Clerk to the Committee of Estates, whom he welcomed, (fancying by that means to draw over the Earl of *Lanrick* to his side.) Altho' *Archibald Lord Napier* and others about him, warned him rather to take heed that instead thereof they wrought not a Division in his Army, and debauched some he had already, it being their Conjecture that *Lanrick* had sent them thither for that End.

The next Dispatch that *Montross* made, was of the Marquis of *Douglas* (and with him the Lord *Ogilby*) to the *South*, for levying all the Horse in *Anandale*, *Dumfries*, &c. to join in the Service.

And at that time arrived from the King, *Sir Robert Spotswood* (who having been formerly President of the Session, was now, since *Lanrick's* Defection, Secretary of State) and delivered to *Montross* his Majesty's Commission, constituting him Captain-General and Deputy-Governour of *Scotland*, with ample Power to make Knights, summon Parliaments, &c. Whereupon he did
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presently Knight *Alexander Mac Donald*, and next appointed a Parliament to sit at *Glasgow* upon *October 20.* which he caused to be proclaimed at the Market-Crosses of *Edinburgh*, *Lithgow*, and *Glasgow*.

But in the mean time, his Adversaries who had fled to *Berwick*, were not idle, for the Scotch Army being then at the Siege of *Hereford* near *Wales*, they called for *David Lesley*, with his whole Strength of Horse, to come Home, who wrote back, that he should make all the haste he could, and would come so strong as he made no question to swallow up *Montrose*, if he found him in the *Low-Country*: But on the other Hand, in case he happened to retire to the *Highlands*, he would be forced to leave the Business undone and retreat, in regard the Country could not sustain the Burden of his Horse.

Whereupon they went to the Earl of *Tillibardin* (in whom they had then great Confidence) to advertise and assemble all their Friends, both high and low, to lye betwixt him and the Hills.

But they found other Instruments whose Actings contributed now to their Design, (whether intentionally or by accident, I shall not determine) those were the Earls of *Roxbrough* and *Home*, whom they sent Messengers to *Montrose* to congratulate his Success, and to shew how earnestly they desired to come like themselves, and to join with him: But that whilst they endeavoured Levies, they found their Friends and Followers obstinately unwilling to engage, until *Montrose* himself should come upon the Place, which if he thought fit to do, they would undertake for the whole Country to join him.

His

His Answer to them was, that he should send Orders to the Marquis of *Douglas* and Lord *Ogilby* to come towards them with their Forces, in order to further their Levies.

But they left it not so, but by new Messengers sent to him again, shewing that nothing but his own Presence could satisfy that Country, and therefore entreated him (by the most insinuating Arguments they could use) to come thither in Person; so that he at length condescended; although many about him disallowed it, and divers Emergents fell out which might have dissuaded him from it; as,

First, The Men of *Athol* and *Mac Lane's* Men must needs go Home and repair their Buildings which had been burnt; nor could they be diverted from it. Next *Sir Alexadner Mac Donald* would needs go to *Argile* to revenge the Injuries done to his Father and Friends, and carried with him (besides a strong Party of Irish to be his Life-Guard) above 500 Scotch Highlanders, whom he had gained to desert the Publick Service and to follow him. *Montrofs* dealt most seriously with him to have stayed until they had been absolute Conquerors, promising then to go thither himself, and be concurring with him in punishing them as they deserved; and withal told him, That his separating at this time must be the Occasion of Ruine to them both: But all was to no purpose, he would needs be gone; and for a Reason enlarged himself in reckoning up the Marquis of *Argile's* Cruelties against his Friends: Who (as he said) did four Years ago draw his Father and Brother to *Innerary* upon Trust, and then made them Prisoners; and since (his Friends having retired to the Isles of *Jura* and *Rachlen* for

for shelter) sent *Archenles* and the Captain of *Shepneys* to the said Isles to murder them, which (said he) they did without Mercy, sparing neither Women nor Children: With these Discourses he justified his departing, and would not be hindered.

As also after that *Montrofs* had begun his march (which was upon *Sept. 4.*) the Lord *Aboyn* deserted him, and carried away with him not only his Friends of the Name of *Gordon* (except Colonel *Nathaniel*) but also all the Northland Horfe.

This unexpected falling away made *Montrofs* see his Errour, in keeping so open a Leager at *Bothwel*, whereby Men came to be admitted, that had thus debauched his Army.

Yet went he forward, and now having with him only some Noblemen, and about 200 Gentlemen that had joined to him at *Bothwel*, together with 700 Foot (whereof most part *Irish*) he quartered at *Cranston Kirk* upon *Saturday, Sept. 6.* and there he got Intelligence that *David Lesley* was already come the length of *Berwick*, with an irresistable Power of Horfe.

As also a Friend of his at Home, having by Providence met with a Copy of *David Lesley's* Letter from *Hereford*, to the Lords at *Berwick*, and of theirs (in Relation thereto) Which the Earl of *Tillyburdine* had sent to the Lord *Erskin*, who the next Morning acquainted *Montrofs* with the same, and told him from whom he had them.

Montrofs acknowledged his Worth and Faithfulness that sent them, but withal he said that his Fervency in the Cause made him more afraid than he needed, and was so far from taking Warning

to retire, that (there being a Fatality in the Business) he marched Southward sooner than before he intended : For whereas at his coming thither, he designed to have rested on Sunday and heard Dr. *Wishart* preach, now he altered that Resolution, and having discharged the Sermon, presently advanced towards *Strathgeal*.

And being there, the Marquis of *Douglas* and Lord *Ogilby* came to him with their levyied Troopers, as also upon the Morrow he was saluted by the Earl of *Traquair*, who having with many Oaths asserted his Fidelity, did frankly undertake to advertise him of *David Lesley's* Motions, and for a Testimony of his honest Meaning, the next Day sent his Son the Lord *Linton*, with a Troop of Horse to attend him.

Montross marched thence forward to *Kelfo*, expecting to have found the Earls of *Roxbrough* and *Home*, but by a Party of *David Lesley's* Horse, they were both ere then carried Prisoners to *Berwick*; whereof he being informed (and that the Party had been called for by *Roxbrough* himself) he saw then the Treachery, and therefore presently marched Westward to *Selkirk*, where he arrived upon *Friday, Sept. 12.* purposing to have the next Day turned his Face to the North, and never ceased marching until he had retired to the Hills.

But herein he was prevented, for the next Morning the Day was so dark through Fog and Mist, that his Scouts could not discover *David Lesley* with his Army, until they were upon the Place before he was aware.

The Surprizal was generally attributed to some Advertisement *Traquair* had sent him, concerning *Montross's* his Weakness: For it was known that

that after *David Lesley* understood of his being in the *South*, he did nevertheless march Northward to *Lothian*, and there at *Glaidsmoor* concluded in a Council of War, to advance Westward towards the Foot of the *Grampion-Hills*, and attend his return; yet having gotten a private Advertisment, he did (contrary to that Conclusion) presently turn to the South and go to him, whereat his Conforts wondered.

That *Traquair* had sent the Advertisment, it was esteemed the more probable, because at midnight before the Battel, he privately called away his Son the Lord *Linton* and his Troop, without giving any Notice thereof to *Montrose*. However, upon *Saturday, Sept. 13. David Lesley* fell on; the Marquis of *Douglas's* new-levied Men did all flee at the first, being near their own Homes, the rest stood to it, until they were almost enclosed; and *Montrose* with the Horse retired, so that ere Night the most Part of them being joined, he was reckoned to be about 150 Horse in Train.

Only some were missing, who having mistaken the Way and fled in several Paths, were taken by the Countrey People, and delivered to the Victors, viz: the Earl of *Heartfel*, the Lords *Drummond* and *Ogilby*, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Sir *Alexander Lesley* of *Achiteal*, Sir *William Rollock*, Sir *Philip Nisbit*; *William Murray* Brother to the Earl of *Tillibardin*, *Alexander Ogilby* of *Inner-harty*, *Nath. Gordon*, Mr. *Andrew Guthrey* Son to the Bishop of *Murray* and others.

Montrose's Foot (so soon as the Horse were gone) drew to a little Hold which they maintained, until *Stuart* the Adjutant (being amongst them) procured Quarter for them from *Doe*

vid Lesley, whereupon they delivered up their Arms, and came forth to a plain Field, as they were directed.

But then did the Church-men quarrel, that Quarter should be given to such Wretches as they, and declared it to be an Act of most sinful Impiety to spare them, wherein divers of the Noblemen complied with the Clergy, and so they found out a Distinction, whereby to bring *David Lesley* fairly off; and this it was, that Quarter was only meant to *Stuart* the Adjutant himself, but not to his Company: After which (having delivered the Adjutant to *Middleton* to be his Prisoner) the Army was let loose upon them all, and cut them in Pieces.

The principal Men that had gone off with *Montrose*, were the Marquis of *Douglas*, *Loovick* Earl of *Crawford*, and the Lords *Ereskin*, *Flemming* and *Napier*, who as they advanced did overtake the rest of the Horse, who fled more timously.

Those who being taken by the Countrey-People, were delivered to the Victors, and were by them sent to several Prisons; most of them to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, some to the Castle of *Sterlin*, and some to other Places, there to be kept until they should resolve about the Time and Place of their Execution.

Only two Irish Commanders, who happened to be taken, were presently dispatched; those were Col. *Ocain* and Major *Lachlan* (Two whom *Montrose* had in great Esteem) who being brought to *Edinburgh*, were without delay hanged upon the *Castle-Hill*.

Montrose and his Party passed through *Strathern* to *Atbal*, where he did presently levy 400 Foot,

Foot, and (having appointed the rest to be in a readiness against his return) with those and the Horse that came with him from the Field, he marched to *Mar* (where the Lord *Ereskin* made his People to join) and thence to the Marquis of *Huntley's* Bounds, where he found no ready Obedience, for the Marquis having left *Stranaver* where he formerly lurked, and now being returned Home, did his uttermost to spoil the Business in *Montross's* Hands, which some ascribed to his Envy of *Montross's* Glory, and others to some Influence the Earl of *Lanrick* had upon him, whose Kinsman he was.

Being disappointed of the Help he expected from *Huntley*, his Care was greater to have *Mac Donald* join him again; therefore he sent to *Argile* his Adjutant-General, to use all the Persuasions he could for his return, but all in vain; for on no Terms could he be moved to concur with *Montross* in the Service, and so they never met again.

David Lesley after the Victory, brought his Army forward to *Lothian*, and from thence convoyed the Committee of Estates and Committee of the Church to *Glasgow*, where they sat some Days, advising what farther Course was to be taken against *Montross*; and withal concluded presently to give *David Lesley* (for a Token of their Gratitude) 50000 Marks Scotch, with a Chain of Gold, and to *Middleton* 25000 Marks.

After this they resolved to carry the Army to *Angus*, where, after the Carse of *Gowry* was pretty well exhausted, they appointed the Head-Quarters to be at *Korfar*, and the Army remaining there, both the Committee of Estates and the Committee of the Church sat down at *Perth*,

Which latter Committee, being proud of the late Victory, was more violent than formerly; so that the first Business taken into Consideration, was, That such of the Ministry as had not mourned for *Montrose's* Victory at *Kilsyth*, might be censured: Whereupon they descended to examine into every Man's Deportment, whom they supposed to be disaffected to their Way; and, being helped by a Number of Sycophants (who well enough understood that Cruelty was the only way to procure Respect) had Information given them against very many Learned and Pious Ministers, how in that Hour of Darkness (as they called it) they bewrayed their Disaffection; which (without any farther Injury) they judged a Sufficient Ground, for processing them towards Deposition.

The next thing this Committee went about, concerned the Disposition of Mens Heads; in order whereunto they sent *Mr. William Bennet*, (*viz.* Moderator in *Mr. Douglas's* Absence) and with him two others, who at their return made their Report to this Effect.

That having proposed the Committee's Desire, divers of the chief Lords of the Committee slighted the same, and so they were like to have obtained nothing, had not the Earl of *Tillibardin* very seasonably risen up and spoken to this purpose, *That because he had a Brother among those Men, it might be that their Lordships so valued his Concurrence with them in the Good Cause; that for respect of him, they were the more loath to resolve upon the Question: But that as for himself, since that young Man had joined with that wicked Crew, he did not esteem him his Brother; and therefore declared, that he would take it for*

no favour, if upon that Account any Indulgence were granted him.

This (said Mr. Bennet) made those of the Committee, who before had disrelifhed the Motion, to hang down their Heads; and so it came to be concluded, that ten of them should be executed, viz. the Earl of *Heartfel*, the Lord *Ogilby*, Sir *Robert Spotswood* Secretary, *William Murray*, (Brother to the Earl of *Tillibardin*) *Alex. Ogilby* of *Innerquarily*, Sir *William Rollock*, Sir *Philip Nisbit*, Col. *Nath. Gordon*, *Stuart* the Adjutant, and Mr. *Andrew Guthry*, Son to the Bishop of *Murray*.

Whether or no the Earl of *Tillibardin* spoke so in the Committee of Estates, I leave undetermined, but that Mr. *Bennet* reported it of him in the Committee of the Kirk, and that those other two, who had been with him gave their Assent to it, I may confidently aver, being an Ear-witness thereof.

After which both the Committee of Estates, and the Committee of the Church adjourned to the 3d of *October*, and appointed their Meeting that Day to be held at *Dunse* in the *Merse*, for sending to *Berwick* some of their Number, to meet with Commissioners deputed from the Parliament of *England*.

And the Week following after their Meeting, the Committee of Estates and they of the Church, did both convene at *St. Andrews*, to receive an Account from those that went to *Berwick*; whereof the Sum was, that the *English* would needs be freed of the Scotch Army, and withal have the Towns of *Newcastle* and *Carlisle* delivered unto them: Whereunto they behoved to give a clear and positive Answer at the sitting down of the

Parliament at *St. Andrews*, upon *Novemb*

And in the mean time, they had an Account from the North how *Montros* having got a considerable Army; intended to march Southwards *Glasgow* (where before his Defeat he proclaimed his Parliament to sit upon *October*. and therefore both the Committee of Estates that of the Church, resolved to go thither again that time.

And for that Effect sent Orders presently to Western Shires, to come forth both Horse and Foot to attend their arrival; as also for a Company they carried along with them *David Lesley*, the one half of his Horse; and appointed *Edleton* to quarter the other half (till his return at *Alway*, to destroy the Earl of *Mar*'s Lands cause of the Loyalty of that Noble Family, that the *Ld. Ereskin* was actually with *Mont*

At *Glasgow* they caused to be executed at Mercat-Cross upon *Oct. 28*, *Sir William Rol* and the next Day *Sir Philip Nisbit* and *Alder Ogilby* of *Innerquarity* (whereof the first but lately come Home from Foreign Parts and the last was but a Boy of scarce Eight Years of Age, lately come from the Schools; upon that Occasion it was, that *Mr. David* said, *The Work goes bonnily on*; which passed afterwards into a Proverb.

But the Execution of the other Prisoners deferred till the sitting of the Parliament at *Andrews*.

Montros in the mean time had brought his main Army to *Lenox*, and from thence faced *Glasgow* with Parties several Days, expecting them coming out to give him Battel. But finding he meant not to fight, he returned again with

A

Army to *Athol*, where he received the sad News of the Death of *Archibald Lord Napier* his Brother-in-Law, whom he had left sick at *Fancaistel*.

That Nobleman was so very old that he could not have marched with them, yet in respect of his great Wisdom and Experience, he might have been very useful in his Councils.

Montrofs took care that his Funeral in the Kirk of *Blair* should be performed with due Solemnities. And afterwards considering (upon that Occasion) that the Marquis of *Douglas*, the Lords *Ereskin* and *Flemming*, and the Gentlemen who having joined at *Bothwell*, yet adhered to him, would not be able to endure the Toil of his Winter-Marches : Therefore he allowed them all to let their Friends capitulate for their off-coming ; which was done, and himself (and the Earl of *Airly* who never abandoned him) went towards *Huntley's* Countrey again to use farther Means for engaging him : Where he found him embarked in a Course, which put him out of hope. And this it was, *viz.* that by Vertue of the Commission from his Majesty, whereby he had taken Arms in the Year 1643. (before *Montrofs* enter'd the Countrey) he chose now again to leap out, and with the Assistance of his Friends, to assert the King's Interest in those Parts, not acknowledging *Montrofs*.

This troubled *Montrofs*, considering that hereby he should be robbed of the Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*, in whom consisted the Strength of his Horse ; and therefore he resolved by all means to court the Marquis of *Huntley* for an Union of their Forces and Interests, and to that effect stay'd a long time in those Parts.

In the mean while, there being throughout the Countrey a general Groaning under the Burthen of *David Lesley's* Army, the Committee resolved to keep at Home only a Brigade under *Middleton's* Command, to wait *Montrose's* Motions; and that *David Lesley* with the rest should return to *England*: So immediately he marched away to *Newcastle*, where the Scotch Army then lay (having, after his coming to *Scotland*, retir'd without Success from the Siege of *Hereford*) and from *Newcastle*, very shortly after, both he and the rest went forwards to *Newark upon Trent*, to join with General *Poynes*, who had already beleaguerr'd that Town.

The Parliament met at *St. Andrews* upon *Novemb. 26.* and thither were brought from several Prisons those that had been taken after the Fight of *Philiphaugh*, to receive their Doom, which *Middleton's* Prisoner *Stuart* the Adjutant, having Notice of, found the Way to make his Escape, and went up to *Montrose*.

Two Noblemen, the Earl of *Heartfel* and Lord *Ogilby*, being appointed to suffer first, the Night before the Execution *Ogilby* escaped out of the Castle of *St. Andrews* in his Sister's Clothes, who in his stead lay in Bed till he was gone, and *Argile* conceiving this to be done by the Means of the *Hamiltons* (in whom *Ogilby* had special Interest) his Mother being Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Haddington*, and himself thereby Cousin German to *Crawford Lindsey*, therefore to pay it home he would needs have the Earl of *Heartfel* spared, whose Death they were thought to thirst after as earnestly as *Argile* did *Ogilby's*.

So the first that suffered was Sir *Robert Spotswood* (Son to the late Archbishop of *St. Andrews*) formerly President of the Session and now Secretary of State, a Man of extraordinary Worth and Integrity, and against whom (he never having been a Sword's Man) nothing could be pretended, but that he had lately brought down a Commission from his Master the King to the Marquis of *Montrose*.

After him suffered *William Murray* (Brother to *Tullibardine*) Col. *Nathaniel Gordon* and Mr. *Andrew Guthrie*, Son to the Bishop of *Murray*.

The Committee of the Church pressed the Parliament that more might go the same Way, which the Noblemen refused, desiring they would help them with an Overture, how the rest might be otherways punished than by their Blood.

And the Committee of the Kirk taking it into consideration, there were divers Opinions about it, but Mr. *David Dick's* was preferred to them all, who being asked by the Moderator what he thought best to be done with them, answered him (in his homely way of Speaking) shame them and impoverish them; this was applauded by the rest, and so made the Overture which they preferred to the Parliament in reference to them: Whereupon the Parliament appointed a great Committee to sit at *Lithgow* upon Febr. 25. and unto it referred the whole Remainder of the Prisoners to be deeply fined.

1646.

THereafter came several Advertisements from the Commissioners at *London*, bearing that the Parliament of *England* would needs be freed of the Scotch Army, and therewith a Declaration of that Parliament shewing by what Items they had pay'd to the Scotch all that they had owed them.

And of these Items, I remember one was of 80000 *l.* Sterling, to be allowed them for the Cabbage the Scotch had devoured : Hereby our great Men saw how they were slighted by the English, and that they meant to give them no more Money ; which afflicted them much : For the Generality of the Kingdom being already Royalists in Heart, altho' they were so kept under that they durst not profess it, they considered that when the Army was come home, if they had no Money wherewith to bribe them to Constancy in the Cause, they would all turn for the King, which would be their undoing.

Therefore their Wits were employed to find out a Device, whereby they might yet get more English Money, both for contenting the Shires and enriching themselves : And indeed they found one which could produce both ; neither could they get it so secretly kept, but that it began to be talked of long before it was brought about.

And this it was, the King's Condition by this time was so low, that all Men conjectured he would ere long be necessitated to cast himself either upon the Scotch or the English, therefore
Means

Means were to be used whereby his Majesty might be moved to prefer the Scotch : And for this End, the Lord *Loudon*, Chancellor *Balmerinoch*, and Sir *Archibald Johnston* were ordered to repair to *London*, and to join with *Lauderdale* and the rest of the Commissioners there already, for advancing that Design.

And also the Marquis of *Argile* was appointed to go into *Ireland* and bring over the Scotch Army from thence ; that being strengthened with that Accession, their Power might be so formidable to the English, as to make them (to eschew a National Quarrel) deal more thankfully with them, even albeit it should so fall out, that they got not the King at their disposing.

These Things being resolved on, the Parliament did upon *Febr. 4.* adjourn.

After which the Chancellor, *Balmerinoch*, and *Warriston* began their Journey for *London* ; as also did the Marquis of *Argile* his towards *Ireland* ; where before he had passed by *Sterling*, he encountered (there) his few Countrey-People (who had out-lived *Innerlochy* and *Kilsyth*) in a very sad Posture : Whereof the Occasion was this ; They having at *Mac Donald's* settling in *Argile*, retired to Corners, and lurked until Hunger forced them to come out ; *Archibalds* drew them together (they being about 1200) and brought them down towards *Monreith*, to have liv'd upon my Lord *Napier's* Tenants and other Malignants ; but *Inchbreakie* happening to be in *Athol* at that time, brought down 700 *Athol*-Men, and fell upon them at *Calendar*, where at the first they fled all like mad Men, divers of them being slain in the flight,

flight, and more drowned in the River of *Guidie*, their haste being such that they stay'd not to seek for Fords: The rest who escaped made no halt, until they had crossed the Water of *Forth* at the *Drip*, and arrived near *Sterlin*; where the Marquis found them; and not knowing how to dispose better of them, carried them with him to the Shire of *Renfrow*, expecting that in those Parts (where all People were furious in the Cause) they should have been welcomed. But the contrary fell out; their Neighbourhood was so displeasing to them, that presently they threatened to take Arms and cut them down, unless they were removed: Whereupon he sent them over to the *Lenox* to quarter upon the Lord *Napier's* Lands, and other Royalists in those Parts, where they lived the more securely, *Inchbreakie* and his *Athol-Men* being gone for the North to attend *Montrose*.

Thereafter the Marquis prosecuted his Journey to *Ireland*, and the first Fright his People had (though it came not near them) was a Report that the young Lord *Napier*, the Laird of *Macknab*, and *John Drummond* of *Ballach* (with a Foot Company) had fortified *Kincarne* (*Montrose's* Principal House) which indeed was true.

Whereupon *Middleton* drew his Army thither, and upon refusing to surrender, brought a Number of great Ordnance from *Sterlin-Castle*, to batter the House; they held out for 10 Days, until the Noise of the Cannon had so dry'd up the Water, that they had none either for Man or Horse; whereupon they were forced to think upon another Course, and so at Mid-night (the Moon being set) the Lord *Napier* and *Ballach*, with

with *John Graham* the Lord *Napier's* Page (who only knew the Way) leading out three Horses at a private Postern, mounted the same without any Notice, rode thro' Guards, and safely escaped their Hands.

The rest did the next Morning surrender upon Capitulation, which being done, 35 of them were sent away Prisoners to the Tollbooth of *Edinburgh*, and the Remnant being 12 in Number, were presently shot at a Post; and then *Middleton* ordered the Castle of *Kincarn* to be burnt, which was done upon the 16th Day of *March*.

And before *Middleton's* removing from that Place, he received from the Committee of Estates and from that of the Church, an Order to go Northward, in regard of an Advertisement they had gotten of *Montross's* thriving in his Levies, whereof the state was thus.

Having spent much time in courting the Marquis of *Huntley* to an Union, and finding no Appearance of it, he left him to better Thoughts, and went Northward to *Ross*, where he became so terrible to that Shire and others adjacent, that the Earl of *Seaforth* (who formerly had always kept a loose Foot) now joined cordially to him, and was instrumental to bring in the rest of the great Men in those Northern Parts, wherein he prevailed so far, that albeit at first they would not come the length to declare for *Montross*, yet they agreed to subscribe a Bond of Confederation, for preserving a National Peace, against all that obstructed the same; and upon those Terms to take up Arms.

The Principal Hands at the Band were the Earls of *Southerland* and *Seaforth*, the Lord *Lowet*, the Clans of the Grants, *Mac Intoshes*, *Dumbar*, *Monroes*, *Mac Lends*, *Mackenzies*, *Mac Ranalds*, *Innes's*, *Balkingowne* and *Brodie*.

A Copy of the Band being brought South to the Committee of Estates and Committee of the Church, both sitting at *Edinburgh* (for now the Pestilence through God's Mercy was vanished) they were much affected therewith.

The Committee of the Kirk published a Declaration, discovering the Malignity of it; and the Committee of Estates, by Proclamation at the *Cross* of *Edinburgh*, condemned it; and both the Declaration of the one, and Proclamation of the other, were sent to the several Presbyteries throughout the Kingdom, with a peremptory Command to all Ministers to read them in their Pulpits, and comment upon them.

But the Fear wherein that Band put the Committee of the Church and Committee of Estates, was soon lessened; for the Earl of *Seaforth* being excepted (who thereafter never abandoned *Montros*) so soon as he retired from those Parts, most of the rest fell away: The Earl of *Southerland* wrote to the Committee a penitential Letter for his joining in the Band, and the Lairds of *Innes*, *Tarbat* and *Brodie* came to *Edinburgh* in Person, and in presence of the Commission disclaimed it, offering to remove the Scandal they had given, by solemn Repentance.

While this was a-doing, came Certainty that *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* had besieged the City of *Oxford*, his Majesty being in it: Whereupon
Mens

Men's Conjectures were different, whether the King would commit himself to the Scotch or to the English.

But shortly after the Case was resolved by my Lord *Balmerinoch's* return from *London*, who arrived at *Edinburgh* upon *May 2.* and reported to the Committee of Estates and the Committee of the Church, how they had handled that Matter so skilfully and with such Success, that he was confident the next Advertisement should give an Account of his Majesty's being with the Scotch Army.

Wherein he proved no false Prophet; for upon *May 10.* arrived a Post bringing Letters from the General and Committee of the Army, which shewed how the King having upon *May 5.* escaped from *Oxford*, under the Notion of Mr. *Ashburnham's* Servant (who only came along with him) was now among them at *Newark*.

And hereupon the Earl of *Morton* presently dispatched a Messenger for *Ireland*, to call home the Marq. of *Argile*, wherein Royalists thought he was over-busie.

The first thing which the General and his Committee imposed upon the King, was to command his Governour of *Newark* to surrender that Town to General *Poynes*.

Which being done, the Scotch Army. (and the King therewith) was brought Northward to *Newcastle*.

And for some Days after their settling there, his Majesty was courteously used; so that his Friends had Opportunity to speak privately with him; and of them, some suggested how besides Noblemen that had the Charge in the Army, there were many Officers of Fortune that favoured

favoured him ; so that if *David Lesley* could be gained, the whole Army might have been made to own him, (for old *Lesley* since his Flight at *Long-Marston* was in no Esteem among them.)

The King (in order to gain him) sent to him his own Brother, and allowed him to give him Assurance of the Earldom of *Orkney* for a Reward, and what more he would desire. Whereupon he took the Matter to advise upon, promising ere long to give his Answer : But in the mean time went from *Edinburgh* to *Newcastle*, the Earls of *Lanrick* and *Callender*, and Lord *Balmerinoch*, and having kissed the King's Hand, two of them, viz. the first and last, moved the King presently to send back the Earl of *Callender* to *Edinburgh*, with a Letter to the Committee of Estates, expressing his Resolutions to comply with his Parliament ; and to command *Monrofs*, *Huntley*, and *MacDonald*, and all that were in Arms to disband, which they caused to be printed and published, with Bells and Bonfires.

Callendar being thus sent Home (whom they were glad to be freed of at *Newcastle*, because he was reckoned to favour the King) *Lanrick*, *Balmerinoch* and the rest, prevailed so far upon *David Lesley*, that he gave them Assurance not to condescend until the Marquis of *Argile's* arrival.

The Committee of the Church was in the mean time careful to keep the Ministry in Subjection, and therefore (to renuise others) called before them, on *May 17*. *Dr. Strange*, *Mr. Edw. Wright*, *Mr. William Wilkie*, and divers others, whom they used very roughly.

The

The King for making good his Letter to the Committee, dispatched *Robert Ker* to *Montrofs*, *Huntley* and *Mac Donald* for laying down their Arms. The last two refused, but *Montrofs* professed his readiness to obey his Majesty's Pleasure, so soon as Conditions should be agreed upon, and warranted *Robert Ker* to make that Report to the King.

Likewise *Montrofs* wrote privately (by another Bearer) to his Majesty, that if the Command had been extorted from him, he would keep up his Army, and hoped to force them (in whose Hands he was) to do their Duty to him. But if his Command was Spontaneous, so that his Majesty esteemed it might be for his Advantage, that he should obey, and in that Case he would do it upon any Terms, though never so hard for himself; and *Huntley* besought his Majesty to signify his secret Will by the same Bearer to him.

By this time the Marquis of *Argile* was returned from *Ireland*, and upon *May 29.* went to the King, and with him *Crawford Lindsey*, and the Earl of *Morton*, as also the Chancellor returning from *London*, came that Day to *Newcastle*, and all of them having kiss'd the King's Hand; the Chancellor, *Argile*, *Crawford Lindsey* and *Balmerinock* entered upon the main Point with *David Lesley*, and at length obtained Assurance that he should not be tempted by the King's Offers to engage for him, until *Argile* went first to *London* and returned again. And so leaving there (to hold *David Lesley* right) the Chancellor, *Crawford Lindsey*; *Balmerinock* and *Argile* did presently begin their Journey.

The General Assembly met at *Edinburgh* upon *June 3.*

The first thing that occur'd in it was a Letter from the Commissioners at *London*, wherein they were so ingenuous as to tell them, there was small Hopes of settling Presbyterian Discipline in *England*. Whereupon the Leaders in the Assembly put the best Gloss they could on it, lest such as were disaffected to their Way, should take the Advantage from it to argue against their Proceedings.

The next thing was the Excommunication of *George Earl of Seaforth*, for his adhering to *Montrass*. Then *Mr. Robert Douglas*, *Mr. Robert Blair*, *Mr. Andrew Cant*, and *Mr. James Guthrie* were appointed to repair to *Newcastle* to attend the King; *Mr. David Dick* and others of old-standing did not take it well to be passed by, and *Mr. James Guthrie* to be pitched upon, (who then had been a Minister only for the space of four Years.) But the Business was *Mr. James* had already given such Evidence of his Bitterness against his Majesty, as made the Assembly to presume that he would encounter him more boldly and rudely than any other, and therefore he was preferred.

The Proceedings of the Committee of the last Assembly were approved, and a new Committee consisting of the same Persons (with little Alteration) was appointed for this Year.

Such Ministers as were proceeded against for their disaffection to the Cause, were remitted to this new Commission.

As also the Laird of *Halyburton*, having given in a Bill complaining of *Mr. James Guthrie* Minister of *Lauder*, *Mr. James Simpson* Minister

ter of *Sprafton*, and their Adherents for keeping Brownistical Conventicles, he could not obtain so much Equity as once to get his Bill read in Publick, but the same was referred to the Committee also.

So the Assembly rose upon *June 11.*

And by this time returned from his Majesty to *Montross* (requiring him without more delay to lay down his Arms) *Robert Ker*, who had carried the former Message, and besides *Montross* received (by another Bearer) a secret Letter from his Majesty, wherein he wrote, That in case he should not lay down his Arms, they would make it a Pretext for undoing him, and therefore besought him most earnestly to do it.

Whereunto *Montross* condescended, and so *Middleton* (Commander in Chief of the Forces that opposed him) having the Conditions to intimate, there was first betwixt *Montross* and him a Cessation of Arms agreed upon, and afterwards upon *July 22.* they settled all things; as also they two met together in a Meadow by the Water of *Illy*, and conferred for the space of two Hours, there being none near them but one Man for each of them to hold his Horse.

The Conditions were, the Matquis of *Montross*, *Lodovick Earl of Crawford*, and *Sir John Urry* to be secluded from all Pardon or Favour, except safe Transportation beyond Sea, and they to embark before the Last of *August*, the Estates affording them a Vessel. *Gorthy* being forefaulted, his Person to be restored, but his Estate excepted (because already disposed of to *Balcarras*) the rest who were forefaulted to have

their Lives and Fortunes safe, and to be in all things as before their engaging.

The Committee of the Church meeting immediately after, disallowed this Agreement, as contrary to the Covenant, and petitioned the Committee of Estates to reverse it. Likewise they themselves went on in an Ecclesiastical Way, and upon *July 27.* excommunicated the Earl of *Airly*, *Gorthy*, *Inchbreakie*, *Mac Donald*, *Stuart* the Adjutant, the Tutor of *Strown* and *John Stuart* of *Shireglass*, Bailiffs of *Athol*. Notwithstanding which, *Middleton* adhered to the Conditions, and so upon the last of *July* the Marquis of *Montross* having drawn his Army to a Rendezvous at *Rattrey*, after a long Oration to them disbanded them all.

The *Irish*, and with them *Lodovick* Earl of *Crawford*, went Westward towards *Argile*, there to embark for *Ireland*, whence *Crawford* went straight to *Spain*, to crave Arrears due to him by that King. The Earl of *Airly* and all the Scotch retired to their own Homes : And *Montross* himself (and *Urry*) to *Old Montross*, his Principal Dwelling (to prepare for the Sea) where (after some Days abode) they fell by Providence upon a Ship, which transported them safe to *Norway* : And from thence they went to *Holland*, and afterwards to *France* to wait upon the Queen.

Before this time *Argile* had done the Business, for which he went to *London*, having the better Success, because of Duke *Hamilton's* being there to concur with him ; for long ere now the Duke had left *Pendennis* the Place of his Confinement) and was actually joined to the Scotch Commissioners at *London*.

So they having communicated to their Friends in the Parliament of *England*, how necessary it was to oblige *David Lesley* (for keeping the Scotch Army fixed) and that in regard of the Offers the King had made him, a small Thing would not do it; therefore it was resolved presently to send him such a Present as might undoubtedly gain him: Which being performed, he would afterwards hear no more of owning the King, whereby all his Majesty's Friends in the Army were discouraged, and so nothing was attempted for him.

The Earl of *Morton*, who before the Rebellion had gotten from him his Life-rent of *Orkney*, now obtained an Hereditary Right to it.

As also *Crawford Lindsey* had the Treasurer's Place settled upon him, which formerly (without his Majesty's Allowance) he had possessed himself of by the Parliament's Grant: For now his Majesty was reduced to such a Posture, that he must grant whatever they pleased to demand.

Duke *Hamilton*, the Marquis of *Argile*, *Lauderdale* and the rest of the Scotch Commissioners, having met with a Committee of the English Parliament, for advising what was next to be done in reference to the King: The Result was, once more to send Propositions to him, and those being accorded upon, the Parliament nominated the Earls of *Penbroke* and *Suffolk*, Sir *John Earle* and Sir *John Hippisly*, *Robert Goodwin* and *Luke Robinson*, to repair to *Newcastle* and present them to his Majesty.

Duke *Hamilton* was the first that informed his Majesty thereof, who arriving at *Newcastle*, July 17. did presently kiss the King's Hand, at

which instant of Time (the Day having till then been fair and pleasant) there began a terrible Thunder, with Lightning and Rain, which continued extraordinary all the Night.

And upon the 24th came the Marquis of *Argill*, and as he kiss'd the King's Hand, just the like Thunder, Lightning and Rain (as had been the other Day) began and continued all the Night also.

Albeit there was nothing miraculous in those suddain and unexpected Changes of Weather, yet in regard the same came without any preceding Appearance, and happened precisely at the very moment of Time, wherein those two kissed his Majesty's Hand, many (who were no Astronomers) made their Observations thereupon.

Upon the 25th arrived the English Commissioners, and presented to his Majesty the Propositions, entreating a speedy Answer thereto, in regard their Instructions allowed them but 10 Days stay in that Place.

The King having considered the Propositions at length, answered, That unto many of them he should gladly accord, (for Peace sake) but amongst them there were some intermixed, whereunto he could not assent, unless he would un-king himself.

The Propositions came hither in Print, dated at *Westminster*, July 11. 1646. whereof I shall only insert those, against which his Majesty was said to except most.

I. It was craved, that the King should sign the League and Covenant; approve of the Assembly of Divines and the whole Proceedings of both Parliaments.

II. That

II. That for the time to come, the Parliaments should chuse the Officers of State, Lords of Council, Chief Judges, and Barons of the Exchequer.

III. That the *Tower of London* be in the City's Power.

IV. That all Honours confer'd by the King since *May 1642.* be declared Void; and none who gets Honours hereafter, to sit in Parliament without the Consent of the Parliament. The like for *Scotland.*

V. That in *England* be excepted from Pardon the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, Earls of *Derby*, *Bristol* and *Newcastle*, Lords *Cottingham*, *Digby*, *Hopton* and *Germaine*, with many Knights and Esquires more. And in *Scotland*, the Marquisses of *Huntley* and *Montrose*, *Lodovick* Earl of *Crawford*, the Earls of *Niddesdale*, *Troquair*, *Carnwath* and *Airly*, Lords *Gordon*, *Ogilby*, *Heiries*, and *Raes*, General *Ruthven*, General *King*, Bishop *Maxwel*, the younger Lairds of *Drum* and *Gight*, Sir *Alexander Lesley* of *Anchintol*, Col. *Cocheran*, *Gorthy* and *Mac Donald*.

VI. That the Reformation of Religion be settled by Act of Parliament, in such Manner as both Houses shall agree upon, after Consultation had with the Assembly of Divines.

VII. And concerning the Militia, that the Parliament for 20 Years, from the first of *July 1646.* have the full and sole Power thereof, and neither the King nor his Successors exercise any part thereof. The like for *Scotland.*

And after the said 20 Years, in all Cases where in the Parliament shall declare the Safety of the Kingdom concerned, and shall thereupon pass Bills for raising and employing Forces by Sea or

Land : That the King and his Successors shall be obliged to ratifie the Bills, or otherwise the same wanting the Royal Assent, shall have the strength of Acts of Parliament, and be as valid to all Intents and Purposes, as if the Royal Assent had been given.

These were talked of to be the Articles to which his Majesty was most averse ; so he mov'd to the Commissioners, that they would be pleased to divide the Articles, and accept Satisfaction from him in those he could yield to ; but they replied, *All or None.*

Whereupon he told them, That since they were so instructed, it was not his Fault that they parted without Accommodation, but theirs, who had appointed them to press such Things whereunto he could not consent, without wronging his inward Peace (which was dearer to him than his Life) and that therefore he behoved to dismiss them with a Refusal, and take his Hazard of what might follow ; adding only that of the Poet,

Qui facit in Fundo, non habet unde cadat.

So that upon *August 2.* the English Commissioners removed from *Newcastle* homewards, and the next Day the Chancellor, Marquis of *Argile*, and Earl of *Dumfermling*, offered to his Majesty to go up and treat with the Parliament for a Mitigation of the Articles. Whether or not his Majesty trusted them and expected any good from them, is doubtful : But the Royalists (who well knew their Ways) spared not to say, That their treating would end in a Bargain.

Those

Those being gone for *London*, Duke *Hamilton's* *Crawford Lindsey* and *Lanrick* parted next from his Majesty and came for *Scotland*.

And immediately after the General and his Committee began to talk of confining his Majesty, which that it might be handsomly done, and upon some shew of Reason, *William Murray* of the Bedchamber, furnished a Pretext; suggesting privately to his Majesty something concerning an Escape, and offering to make his Way, and have a Ship in readiness to transport him. What entertainment his Majesty gave to the Motion, is uncertain; but before the time came which *William Murray* had set, it was so divulged, that there was no other Discourse throughout the Army, but of *William Murray's* Plot to carry away the King; and thereupon a Guard of Soldiers was presently planted at his Chamber-door, both within and without; whereby his Majesty was not only deprived of Liberty, but also of Quiet and Retirement; and having an Antipathy against Tobacco, was much perplexed, by reason of their continual Smoaking by him.

William Murray therefore retired to *London*, where the Scotch Commissioners caused him to be imprisoned for a time; yet was that interpreted by Malignants to be done in Policy also, that the King hearing of his suffering for that Attempt, might believe that his Part had been honest towards him; and upon that Account trust him afterwards, whereby he might yet do them more Service.

And as to the King's Restraint (his Majesty knowing that the General and his Committee acted according as the Great Ones prescribed to them) therefore did he interpret it to have been

been resolved on betwixt them and the English Commissioners before their parting from *Newcastle*, and committed to the General to be done when they were gone, which made him apprehensive of worse to follow.

Yet Duke *Hamilton* at parting having given him ample Assurance of engaging the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh* to own him; and his Majesty considering that he having now the Advantage of the Chancellor, *Argile* and *Warriston's* Absence, was able to rule the Committee at his Pleasure, entertained thereupon some glimpse of Hope.

And indeed the stately Way of the Duke's Entry wrought upon many of the simpler Sort throughout the Land to expect some good by him: For his Grace with *Crawford Lindsey* and *Lanrick*, having come together to the *Beal*, (where his Natural Sister was Lady) *Crawford* and *Lanrick* went immediately to *Edinburgh*, where they arrived upon *August 6.* but the Duke stay'd at *Beal* till the 11th, on which Day being accompanied by his Friends (amounting to 400 Horse) his Grace came to *Edinburgh* in Pomp.

And next Day went to the Committee on Foot, with the same Attendance.

Where it was resolved to call against the 18th Day, the whole Members of the Committee of Estates, and the Lords of the secret Council, to meet for debating, Whether to own the King, or call home the Army, and leave him to the English.

Against that Day they all convene, and so did the Committee of the Church also.

And

And after some debate upon the Question, it was concluded, That before they made any Progress towards a Resolution, first, Three of every Estate should be sent to the King to deal with his Majesty, to sign the English Propositions. Those nominated for that Employment were, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Crawford-Lindsey*, and *Cessels*, the Lairds of *Freeland*, *Garthland*, and *Brodie*, Sir *Alexander Wedderburn* Clerk of *Dundee*, *Edward Edgar* Bailiff of *Edinburgh*, and *William Glendinning* Burgeis of *Kirkubry*. All which went away upon *September 2*. And the Committee of the Church sat still to attend their return, and in the mean time fell upon the Lord of *Halyburton's* Bill (remitted to them by the late Assembly) concerning Conventicles kept in *Merse* by *James Guthrie*, Mr. *James Simpson*, and their Adherents. But although many things were prov'd against them, which were very gross and offensive, yet the Plurality of the Committee voted them not censurable. From which divers sound and reverend Ministers dissented, and urged that their Dissent might be recorded in the Committee Books; which was done.

The Committee proceeded next to the Censure of Ministers that had been refer'd to them, and having spent some Hours in Examination of Witnesses, deferred the pronouncing of their Sentences till another time; in regard the Commissioners being now returned from the King, they behoved to attend greater Affairs.

Upon *Sept. 16*. the Commissioners made their Report unto the Committee, which was, That his Majesty refused to seal those Propositions.

Where-

Whereupon the Committee sat divers Days after upon the Debate, and those that truly favoured the King, did not enforce their Opinion by Reasons taken from his Interest (his Enemies being so cunning as that would have been esteemed Malignancy in the highest degree) but from the Account of Reformation. That seeing the Reason given in the Year 1645. for carrying the Army into *England*, was to pursue the Reformation ; how then could they withdraw the Army, when that End was not yet obtained ?

The Committee of the Church hearing thereof, sent Mr. *Robert Blair* and Mr. *David Dick*, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, and Mr. *James Guthrie* to the Committee of Estates to desire that they should no longer defer their Resolution to call home the Army upon the Account of Reformation, because they could not press Mens Consciences.

This was esteemed by Royalists to be very contrary to the Method they took in the Year 1643. when they imposed so far upon Mens Consciences, as to constrain many, both high and low, to subscribe and swear the League and Covenant much against their Inclinations.

However, the Result of the Debate was, That the Determination of the Question should be suspended, until the Meeting of the Parliament upon *November 3*. And when this came to be noised throughout the Land, none were so simple but that they saw the Plot, how by that time the Chancellor, *Argile* and *Warriston* would be returned, to carry the Business against the King.

And likewise they spared not to talk Liberally of Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother *Lanrick*, who being able (in their Absence) to have done in
the

the Committee whatsoever they pleased, had brought the Matter to that pass.

And indeed it looks as if the deferring of the Business until the sitting of the Parliament, had not been carried over the Duke's Belly and his Brother's, but was consonant to some Conclusion, which had been agreed unto at *Berwick*, betwixt them and those at *London*; in regard the Chancellor and *Argile* at their coming thither, did give Assurance to the English Parliament, that nothing would be resolved upon at Home before the Meeting of the Scotch Parliament in *November*. And upon that Account the English Parliament appointed a grand Committee to treat with them upon the Subject.

And being met, the English pleaded, That they should have the sole Power of disposing of the King, secluding the Scotch from any Interest therein; and they upon the other Part urged, That seeing he was King of both Nations, both should have equal Power, (especially because of the League and Covenant whereby both were ty'd to act jointly in all things.) And that the Honesty of the Scotch Commissioners might be publicly understood, three of the Chancellors Speeches to that effect (having been spoken at several Meetings in the *Painted Chamber*) were sent Home and printed at *Edinburgh*.

However, the Commissioners on both Sides came at length nearer to the Point, *viz.* That if the Scotch should consent to retire their Army, and leave the King to them, it would be requisite they should have Money, which the other were willing to give.

And so (that being made the state of the Question, *What will you give us, and we will deliver*

liver him to you?) the Chancellor was left to concur with *Lauderdale* and the other Commissioners, that resided there to drive the Bargain to a Price ; and the Marquis of *Argile* and *Warriston* hastned Home, to attend the sitting of the Parliament.

In the Way, *Warriston* got from the King the Office of being his Majesty's Advocate, (become vacant by the Death of Sir *Tbo. Hope*) as also the Rent of the Chapel-Royal, (vacant by the Death of Mr. *Henderson*) had lately been bestowed upon Mr. *Robert Blair*. Nor was his Majesty to be blamed for gratifying them, not being then in a Capacity to refuse whatsoever they pressed. And on the other Part, although they pretended Conscience for their acting against him, yet their Consciences were so tractable, that they would give them leave to receive Benefits from him. The only Misfortune was, That Mr. *Robert Douglas* being displeased that *Blair* (and not himself) should catch that Morfel, did afterwards look more sourly upon the King than before.

The Parliament sat down upon Nov. 3.

The first thing that occurred, was a Letter from *Middleton*, for more Forces to be sent him, to suppress the *Gordons*, and so *Henry Barclay's* Regiment with two more, were ordered to march Northwards to him.

Afterwards *Middleton's* Capitulation with *Montross* was ratified, notwithstanding that, besides the Committee of the Church, the Marquis of *Argile*, and all his Faction, opposed the same ; so great was the Duke's Power at that time.

And

And those lesser Things being done, the Royalists dealt with his Grace, that he would be pleased to bring in the main Business, concerning the owning of the King.

And in particular my Lord *Innepeffer* (who was a Commissioner for *Angus*) having try'd the Pulse of the most Part of the Commissioners, and found them right for his Majesty, went to the Duke, and besought his Grace, that without delay it might be gone about, assuring him that now it would come for the King by thirty Voices; whereas if it were delay'd, the Argilians and Commissioners of the Church intrigued so busily as it might be feared, they would in Progress of time draw away so many that the Cause would be lost. The Duke thanked him for his Affection to the King, but with all entreated he would leave the timeing of the Business to him, who knew best to take an Opportunity for it.

Like as the Week following *Innepeffer* finding that some of those who formerly had given him Assurance, were already changed, sent Sir *John Hamilton* (Justice-Clerk) to the Duke again, to shew that by reason of Mens Inconstancy, now they could only carry it by 15 Voices, and if it were delay'd a Week more, all Hope would be gone, and therefore humbly besought his Grace presently to fall to it, but the Answer he sent by Sir *John*, was the same he had formerly given.

And indeed it was the 15th of *December* before his Grace made any mention of it; and then a grand Committee being appointed to consider of the Business, there were Letters from the Commissioners at *London* presented, shewing, that they

they were so far advanced in the Way of agreeing with the Parliament of *England*, as to receive 2000000 *l.* Sterling in Hand ; and Publick Faith for as much more to be paid at Terms, on Condition they would retire their Army, and surrender the King without any Conditions for him.

In regard the Duke (on whom those in the Parliament depended who had a mind to own the King) lingered to fall on the Business, until those Letters came ; they collected, that (notwithstanding his Professions to the contrary) he was in the same bottom with the rest, and therefore the most Part of them resolved to comply, lest otherwise they should draw upon themselves the Wrath of that Faction, and in the mean time be able to do no good.

And that the Grand Committee might go on the more unanimously, the Committee
 * *Caution.* of the Church published a * *Warning*, tending to keep in with the Parliament of *England*, and not to own the King.

After which the Committee's Opinion to the Parliament was, That yet once more, two of every Estate should be sent to the King, for requiring him to sign the Propositions, with Certification that if he refused, they would retire their Army and leave him to the English, which the Parliament assented to : And thereupon nominated to go to his Majesty (with that Commission) the Earl of *Lothian* and Lord *Balcarras*, the Lairds of *Garthland* and *Freeland*, *Edward Edgar* and *William Glendinnen*, who all went away upon December 29.

At this Dispatch the Duke and his Brother *Lanrick* spake a little against the Tennor of the
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Commission as being too peremptory, but were not contentious about it. And the Marquis of *Argile* and his Followers, who were accustomed to dispense with them to make a stir in the beginning of every Business, seeing in the end they suffered the Resolution to go their Way, took little Notice of it. Yea the Commissioners of the Church (who were worse to satisfy) took no Exceptions against them.

In token whereof (without any Recommendation there-ant from the General Assembly) they did, at their desire, relax from the Sentence of Excommunication, the Earl of *Seaforth* and Lord *Ogilby*, two whom the Marquis of *Argile* held for his greatest Enemies, and upon that Account did his utmost that they might not obtain that Favour.

1647.

IN the first Week of *January* came the last Advertisement from the Commissioners at *London*, That now they had perfectly agreed with the Parliament of *England* to receive the Money above-mentioned; and to retire their Army and leave the King to them without any Conditions for him, or in relation to our Interest in him: As the Act of the English Parliament there-ant did bear, which they also sent hither and required a present Answer.

Hereupon the Matter was again debated in Parliament until the return of the Commissioners from *Newcastle*, with his Majesty's last Refusal. And afterwards upon *July* 16. by the Voice of the House it was concluded, that according to the Agreement of the Commissioners above, the Army
 O should

should retire, and the King be left to the English, without any Conditions for him, or our Interest in him.

There were only for the Negative, of the Nobility Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother *Lanrick*, with the Earls of *Kingborn* and *Tullibardin*, and the Lords *Spynie* and *Glibank*; of the Gentry, *Halkerton*, *Innerpeffer*, *Monorgane* and *Curden*; and of the Commissioners and of the Burghs, those of *Forfar*, *Taine* in *Ross* and *Brichen*.

Neither did Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother *Lanrick* save their Credits (as to the Point of Loyalty) by their Voices, in regard all their Friends and Followers went the other Way; such as (chiefly) the Earl of *Crawford-Lindsey*, President of the Parliament, the Earls of *Cassels*, *Glencarn* and *Eglinton*, the Lord of *Loure* (afterward Earl of *Airthy*) *Bargenny* and *Cocheran*, Sir *James Lockhart* of *Lee*, Sir *John Hamleton* of *Beal*, and others.

The Guilt and Shame due to this Fact, should not (with Reason) be imputed to the Generality of the Scotch Nation, in regard,

First, Of the Nobility, that whosoever shall be at the Pains to compare the List of Scotch Noblemen, with the *Sederunt* of Parliament, will find that the 3d Part of the Nobility was not present, very many having been secluded for their known Affection to the King, and others upon other Pretexts, and (possibly) some who would have been admitted, did on their own accord withdraw, be- in on the one Part resolved not to comply, and on the other hand, loath by their Dissent to offend the prevailing Faction, lest they should encroach upon their Fortunes.

And

And, *Secondly*, As for the Gentry, Burghs and Commonalty throughout the Land, (*Fife* and the *Western Shires* betwixt *Hamilton* and *Galloway*, being excepted) there were an hundred for one (all the Kingdom over) that abhorred it, and would never have instructed their Commissioners that way: So that they alone have to answer to God for that Depoartment. Howbeit, those who sent them were so over-awed that they durst not challenge them.

And, *Thirdly*, As for the Ministry, albeit they had been always careful to constitute the Committee of the Church so, that the Plurality thereof should run their Way, yet was there found some who all along in their Debates, exonerated themselves fairly: Such as Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, and Mr. *William Colvil*, Ministers of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Andrew Fairfoul* Master of *Leith*, Mr. *Robert Knox* Minister of *Kelfo*, Mr. *Oliver Cout* Minister of *Inverness*, Mr. *David Drummond* Minister of *Liibgoe*, Mr. *Hen. Guthrie* Minister of *Sterlin*, and others: And as for the Body of the Ministry throughout the Kingdom, the far greater Part disallowed it; howbeit, lothness to be deprived of their Function and Livelyhood, restrained them from giving a Testimony.

The Act of Parliament being quickly sent to the Commissioners at *London*, the English Parliament did without delay deliver at *Newcastle* the Sum of 200000 *l.* Sterlin to the Scotch Commissary-General, whereupon followed the delivering up the King to them, which was upon *Thursday Jan. 28.* at 9 a Clock; and immediately after the Scotch Army marched thence and came homeward: The Earl of *Pembroke* who had received

the King, stay'd with him there until *Feb. 3.* and then (according to his Orders) carried him away to *Holmby-house*, where the Parliament of *England* meant he should remain.

While the Scots Army was on their Way homeward, the Parliament concluded, that after their arrival the most part of them should be disbanded, and only a new Model to be kept of 6000 Foot and 1200 Horse, to be commanded as follows.

Rout-Masters, the General, Lieutenant-General, Major-General, *Sir John Brown, Rob. Montgomery*, the Laird of *Aldy, Rockhart Junior of Lee, Thornton, Ludwharn, Mungo Murray, Riccarton Craigg, Henry Barclay, David Barclay* and Col. *Fraiser*.

Colonels of Foot : *Argile, Archinles, Dear Saundy Hamilton, Col. Scot, Paiscory and Heburne*. Lieutenant-Colonels, *Argile's* to stand, *Archinles's* to stand, and *David Weems, John Roch, John Innes*, and *John Halden*.

Majors of Foot : *Argile's* to stand, *Archinles's* to stand, and *Tours, Meldrum, Agnece* and *Blair*.

The disbanding was not only talked of by Sycophants (of whom they had no great Security) but also by Ministers from their Pulpits, as an Act of great Love to their Countrey, done for the Ease thereof, whereas it was well enough known they did it for their own Security, to get such of their Army (both Officers and Soldiers) disbanded, as were tainted with what they call'd *Malignancy*, and none kept up but those of whom they might be confident, that whatsoever they attempted, they would go along with it.

So soon as the Army arrived, there being three Month's Pay delivered to each Soldier, they did all peaceably disband, except those of the new Model.

Soon

Soon after *David Lesley* (with a Party of his Model) was sent to the *North*, there to join with *Middleton* for suppressing the *Gordons*, who yet kept up in Arms; and the remaining Part was ordered to stay in the Heart of the Kingdom to guard the Parliament, and to be a Terror to those throughout the Land, that groaned for the King.

The Earl of *Morton* obtained in Parliament a Ratification of the Hereditary Right of *Orkney*.

As also of the English Money, the Parliament appointed to the Marquis of *Argyle* for himself 30000 *l.* Sterling, and for his Friends 15000 *l.* Sterling; and for his Common People, the Committee of the Church, appointed all the Ministers throughout the Kingdom to collect a voluntary Contribution, and to deliver the same to *James Stuart* in *Edinburgh*, and *George Porterfield* in *Glasgow*, who were made Receivers thereof.

The next Week the Parliament ordered 3000 *l.* Sterling be to given to Sir *Archibald Johnstone* of *Warriston*, as a Reward of his Service.

And towards the Close of the Parliament, it was appointed by Authority thereof, that Duke *Hamilton* should have given to him 30000 *l.* Sterling for his Losses in the good Cause, especially when *Montrose* lay at *Bothwell*.

Nor was it doubted, but that Ministers were also rewarded, yet the same was so convey'd, that the Proportions came not to be publickly known; only it was observed, that afterwards they lived very sumptuously, and divers of them became very rich, such as Mr. *Dick*, *Blair*, *Cant* and others.

At last the Parliament nominated a grand Committee of 20 for every Estate, with ample Power to rule, until the next Parliament, which was appointed to sit in *March* 1648.

And so upon *March 27.* the first Triennial Parliament rose.

In the beginning of *April* came Certainty of *David Lesley's* Success in the *North*, how the Garrisons of *Wards* and *Strabogie* had both surrendered to him, and that thereupon he had presently caused such Irish and Deserters as he found therein to be hanged, giving quarter to the rest.

And that thereafter the Marquis of *Huntley's* (whose Forces had deserted him, and were retir'd to Corners, till they might capitulate for their Lives) and some few Gentlemen that adhered to him were forced to flee to *Lochaber* for shelter, and from thence wrote to *David Lesley* to intercede with the Committee of Estates for Liberty to them to remove out of the Kingdom, which was refused.

Then *Middleton* with his Forces being appointed to remain in the *North* for preventing new Insurrections, *David Lesley* and his Army were ordered *South* that they might be employed against *Mac Donald*, who yet continued in Arms in the Marquis of *Argile's* Countrey.

For which End, *David Lesley* quartered his Army in *Strathballan* (keeping his Head-quarters in *Dumblain*) until the middle of *May*, (at which time the Marquis (having adjourned the Committee of Estates) came to *Dumblain* to guide the Way to *David Lesley* and his Army : And having begun their march upon *May 17.* arrived at *Inverary* upon the 21st.

From whence upon the 24th they advanced to *Kintyre*, where *Mac Donald* was; his Strength was reckoned to be 1400 Foot, and 2 Troops of Horse.

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Mac Donald skirmished with them upon the 25th, from Morning till Night, but the next Day himself and his Irish (having Boats in readines) fled to the Isles, and from thence to *Ireland*.

The Countrey-People (whom he had constrained to join him) submitted upon Quarter given them by *David Lesley*. But having surrendered their Arms the Marquis and a bloody Preacher (Mr. *John Newy*) prevailed with him to break his Word, and so the Army was let loose upon them, and killed them all without Mercy. Whereat *David Lesley* seemed to have some inward Check: For while the Marquis and he, with Mr. *Newy* were walking over the Anles in Blood, he turned about and said, *Now Mr. John have you not once gotten your Fill of Blood?* This was reported by many that heard it.

After this, they transported their Army to *Illy*, for reducing that Island, and especially a strong Castle therein, (called *Duniveg*) where *Mac Donald* had planted a Garison.

And that being done, they turned homeward; but before their arrival, had Intelligence from *England*, that upon *June 4*. Cornet *Joyce* with 1000 Horse, by *Fairfax's* and *Cromwel's* Orders (without the Parliament's) had come to *Holmby-house* and carried the King away: Whom afterwards *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* caused for a long time to march to and fro with them at the Head of their Army; and after that settled him at *Hampton-Court*, keeping (their) strong Guards about him, whereby he had no more Freedom than formerly at *Holmby*.

Whereunto this might tend, was hard to prognosticate: Nevertheless, the Committee of Estates and Committee of the Church thought themselves

concerned to meet and consider what was incumbent upon them on this Emergent : And being upon *June 22.* assembled, they did presently adjourn till *July*, that they might get farther Intelligence,

And on *July 17.* arrived Mr. *George Windram*, who told them,

1. That the Army's Power encreased.
2. That Liberty of Conscience was thought to be aim'd at by them, with an Universal Tolleration.
3. That General *Poynes* (who formerly served under the Parliament) was by their Orders (without the Parliament's Knowledge) taken and made Prisoner in *Pontefract-Castle*. And,
4. That upon *July 12.* the Army had sent to the Parliament and City some Proposals of an odd Strain.

What the Proposals might be, was not well understood, until that at the end of *July* the Scotch Commissioners residing at *London* gave an Account, that upon the Receipt of those Proposals, the City of *London* with the Apprentices and Watermen did all join in a new Bond for the Ends of the Covenant, and presented the same to the Parliament.

That the first Day they appeared, the Parliament had condemned the Bond, and forbid them to own it under pain of Treason; but that they coming again the next day in greater numbers (and more tumultuously) the Parliament had revoked their former Sentence, and approved what they had done.

Whereof *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* being advertised by the Sectarian Party in the House (with which they then comply'd) they drew the Army towards *London*, and after some Treaty, (wherein Mr. *Maxwel* was a chief Actor, who at his being there

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in the Year 1643. professed to be a Presbyterian, but now had wheeled about) the City submitted to the Army, and *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, at the Head thereof, marched through the same, having the Tower, the Militia of the City, and all delivered to them.

This Rising at *London* put our Great Ones to such a Nonplus, they knew not what to do or say, and therefore resolved to be quiet, until the Design thereof should be better understood.

So the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh* upon *August* 3. and rose again *September* 1. The chief Things done in it were,

A Confession of Faith was approved : And a Directory for a Family-Worship : And a National Thanksgiving appointed to be celebrated the last Sabbath of *September*, for *David Lesley*'s Success in chasing away *Mac Donald*.

The Committee of the Preceding Assembly was approved, with Thanks to them for their Fidelity and Diligence.

And a new Committee was appointed for the Year following, whereunto all the Particular Affairs that came before the Assembly, were referred.

The Committee of Estates sat in the mean time, and having gotten from *Lauderdale*, and the rest of the Commissioners that resided in *London*, farther Intelligence, they concluded to send up the Chancellor and the Earl of *Lanrick*, to act in Conjunction with them for the Interest of this Nation.

And thereafter the Marquis of *Agile* went home to settle his Countrey, and upon *September* 21. caused Col. *Mac Gillespick*, *Alexander Mac Donald*'s Father to be hanged.

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The Country being oppress'd by *D. Lesley's Army*, took the Advantage of *Argile's* absence to supplicate the Committee of Estates for disbanding the same (expecting that the *Hamiltons* (who always profess'd Friendship to the Royalists) would now (when he was not there) have done it. But the Answer was, An Act ordering the Army to disband upon *October 20.* provided the Committee of Estates (which presently adjourned till *October 12.*) should then think it expedient. When the Supplicants found this was all they had obtained, they called it a *Lick of Cream*, and said, *It was like the rest of Hamilton's Doings*; seeing it might be presumed, that before that time the Marquis of *Argile* would be returned to quash it.

In the mean while, the Chancellor and Earl of *Lanrick* went away for *London*, as also the Earl of *Callendar* went up on his own Account, but had no Commission.

Callendar returned long before the rest, having gotten from the King sundry Grants, and among the rest the Office of Sheriff of *Sterlingshire*, which had belonged by Inheritance to the House of *Mar*, until the King would needs have the Earl of *Mar* to resign the same into his Hands; and (in recompence thereof, and for Satisfaction of some Debts owing by his Majesty to him) gave him a Lease of the Lordship of *Sterlin* for certain Years: Which nevertheless the Marquis of *Argile* hindred passing the Seals; such was his Malice against the Noble House of *Mar*, for the Loyalty thereof, notwithstanding the many Ways he was related thereto.

So soon as the Chancellor and *Lanrick* arrived at *London*, and (with the rest) had conferred with their Correspondents in the Parliament upon the
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State of Affairs, one Mr. *Roe* was sent down from the Parliament to our Committee of Estates, to urge, that the Scotch Army might be brought home from *Ireland*, offering only (instead of all their Arrears) a Fortnight's Pay for their Transportation.

This was the only Affair which he publicly professed he was intrusted with ; but it was generally believed, that he brought other Messages which the Committee thought not fit to divulge.

In the beginning of *October* the Marquis of *Argile* returned to *Edinburgh*, to attend the sitting of the Committee upon the 12th thereof ; at which time the Duke and his Adherents suffered him to carry the keeping up of *David Lesley's* Army, until the Parliament (which was not to sit before *March* 1648.) should determine about it : Whereunto the Commissioners of the General Assembly were very helpful, having (beside their present intriguing) set forth a Declaration for that End.

The Army being now out of Fear to be disbanded, became more rude than before : For notwithstanding that Monthly Maintenance which was exacted throughout the Land for the Entertainment thereof, (and that so unmercifully that every Collector enriched himself thereby) yet the Soldiers were ever suffered to take free Quarters amongst all that were supposed to favour the King ; and not only so, but farther, to do them all the Harm they could : For there was no more to be done, but once to give them the Name of *Malignants*, and then it was Piety to plunder them.

And besides this, another Course (which had formerly been devis'd against them) was prosecuted with more and more Severity ; which was, to call
before

before the Committee of Estates such and such Men, and then ordain them to lend Money to the Publick, (whether they had it or no) some 100 /. some 200 /. Sterling, and some more, as the Committee was pleased to determine : And if any scrupled to obey, the Proportion was presently doubled upon them ; or if any professed to want Money, some or other of the Collectors would offer to lend them Money upon Bond, which against the next Term would make him liable to pay the Sum, with Interest : And if any did obstinately stand out, he was shut up in Prison till he submitted.

They gloried so much in this Device, that they used to contend among themselves, Whether the quickness of the Invention should be ascribed to the Committee of Estates or to the Committee of

* *Vexing,*
Plaguing, or
Tormenting.

the Church ; it being (said they) the most excellent Way that could be thought on for * *Rea hing* Heart Malignants, (as they called them who disallowed their Course, and yet walked so reservedly, that they could find no Pretexts in a Legal Way, whereby they could fine or forefault them.)

And indeed by this Way they drew from honest People such Sums, as did sufficiently impoverish them, and made the Committee abundantly able both to gratifie Sycophants that depended upon them, and daily to corrupt more and more.

Yet notwithstanding these Publick Methods, they neglected not to use more private Means, among which this was one,

Archibald Lord *Napier*, (a Nobleman, for True Worth and Loyalty inferior to none in the Land) having in the Year 1645. died in his Majesty's Service at *Francaſtle* in *Aſhol*, the Committee

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resolved to raise his Bones, and pass a Forefaulture thereupon ; and for that End, Letters were raised, and ordained to be executed at the Peir of *Leith* against *Archibald Lord Napier* his Son, (then under Exile for his Loyalty) to appear upon 60 Days Warning, and to hear and see the same done. And when his Friends were startled at it, and made Enquiry, what was meant by it, they found it was only to draw Money from the (now) Lord *Napier*, for the use of some Sycophants that expected it ; and so they advanced 5000 Marks to that End, and thereupon the intended Forefaulture was discharged.

This was not the first of the Lord *Napier's* Money they had gotten, for after *Montross's* Removal, when he came Home to settle his Affairs, that he might also go abroad, the Committee constrained him to pay them 2000 *l.* Sterling, under the Name of *Forefaultures*, (because his late Noble Father and he had (in the Year 1645.) broken from their Confinements and joined *Montross's*) and that with such Rigour, that albeit they ow'd him 8000 Marks for Provisions they had bought of his Father, towards the Subsistence of the Army in the Year 1640. yet could he not obtain that the same should be allowed in part of Payment, but they made him deliver the said Sum of 2000 *l.* Sterling intirely, without any Satisfaction at all for the Victuals.

Whilst thus they ruled in an Arbitrary Way, they were pleased to make themselves merry with a Spectacle, which was very Tragical ; the Lairds of *Newton (Gordon)* and *Heartfel* the younger, being taken Prisoners by *Middleton*, had been sent to the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, whom the Committee condemned to die ; and albeit before the
Exe-

Execution of the Sentence, their Friends had procured and brought home for them the King's Remission, the same was not regarded, but notwithstanding thereof, they were both beheaded at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, for no other Cause (so much as alledged) but their Loyalty, having been in the King's Service, first under *Montros* and afterwards under *Huntley*. *Heartfel* suffered upon *October 26.* and the other shortly after him.

Hereafter no new Thing occurred, until *Nov. 20.* at which time there came from the Chancellor, *Lanrick*, *Lauderdale* and the rest of the Residentiaries at *London*, an Advertisement concerning the King's Escape from *Hampton-Court*; whereof the Occasion was said to be, a Letter sent him from some who pretended to be his Friends, intimating, That the Independants intended to murder him, and therefore advised him to fly to the Isle of *Wight* for Safety.

Whereupon his Majesty (having left upon his Table a Letter for the Parliament, shewing the Reason of his Removal, with one to Col. *Whaley*, and another to the Captain of the Guards) went away at Night, and with him Sir *John Barclay*, Capt. *Leg*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, and rode streight towards the Isle, from whence Col. *Hammond* Governour thereof, had come ashore to attend his arrival in that Place, and presently received him, and carried him to *Carrisbrook-Castle* within that Isle. Upon the Notice thereof, the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Church did meet very solemnly *December 2.*

Where the first Occurrence was an Account from *Middleton*, that now the Marquis of *Huntley* was his Prisoner; having been taken by Col. *Menzies* in *Sirashanaver*, where he lurked at that time.

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The Committee ordered *Middleton* to send him without delay to *Edinburgh*; where upon *December 24.* he arrived, and the Troopers that brought him up, having at the entry of the Town delivered him to the Magistrates, he was by them guarded to the Tolbooth.

And upon *December 21.* the Question was debated in the Committee, Whether he should be presently executed or reprieved till the Meeting of the Parliament: The Marquis of *Argile* (being his Brother-in-Law, yet his great Enemy) withdrew when it was put to the Vote; but all of his Faction were for present Execution, and so was the Committee of Church also, (by their most earnest Solicitations) nevertheless, it was carried (and that only by one Voice) that his Life should be spared until the Parliament.

Which was the rather thus carried, in regard the News they received in the mean time from the Commissioners at *London*, touched them so deeply, that they valued the less what should be determined concerning him.

For now they were certified, that the Parliament of *England* had resolved to admit of a Personal Treaty with the King: His Majesty first condescending to Four Articles, *viz.* 1. To quit the Militia for ever. 2. That the Parliament should adjourn themselves as they pleased. 3. That no Noblemen created by him since his withdrawing himself from the Parliament, should sit in the House of Peers, until the Parliament had ratified their Creation. And, 4. That he should disclaim all Edicts, Proclamations, &c. emitted against the Parliament.

Upon this Occasion the Chancellor, *Lanrick*, *Lauderdale*, and the rest of the Commissioners began

began to act in a new Way ; for whereas formerly it had been their Custom to quarrel with the King for not granting enough to his Parliament ; now they alledged, that if he should sign those Articles, he would thereby grant too much, nay, more than was either fit or just.

Whereupon at first when those Four Articles were drawn up by the Parliament, to be sent to his Majesty, they entred their Dissent before the Parliament, and put out a Declaration against the same ; which being sent hither to the Committee of Estates, was by them approved and reprinted at *Edinburgh*, whereby it might come to the knowledge of the Lieges ; as also there was a Letter of Thanksgiving sent to them, wherein it was desired they would continue constant.

And when the Parliament's Commissioners went to the Isle of *Wight* to present unto the King those preparatory Propositions, and desire that his Majesty would please to sign the same : The Scotch Commissioners went thither also, and in his Majesty's Presence protested against his doing thereof ; which Protestation being by them sent home to the Committee of Estates, was mightily approved.

The King being thus in a Strait betwixt two, did take the Matter into Consideration for some time ; and in the mean time the Chancellor, *Lauderdale*, and *Lanrick* did (with the Profession of much Affection to him) insinuate, that rather than his Majesty should condescend to those Articles, it were better for him to make some farther Steps, in giving *Scotland* some Contentment, anent the Reformation ; which if his Majesty should do, they would undertake that the whole Kingdom should engage for his Restauration.

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Whereupon the King and they entred upon a Treaty concerning such Concessions as might satisfie the Scotch Nation.

1648.

AND at length, by the middle of *June*, his Majesty and they accorded upon certain Articles, which they in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, acknowledged to be satisfactory; and thereupon did undertake that the Kingdom should own his Majesty, and take Arms for his Re-establishment, with the News whereof they sent down Mr. *John Cheisley* (who being first Mr. *Henderson's* Servant, had been by him preferred to be Clerk to the Commissioners) to whom the King promised him the first vacant Place, and in the mean time Knighted him) and made him Master of Requests in the room of an old Faithful Servant (Sir *James Galloway*) who had lately been advanced to the Title of Lord *Dunkeld*.

The King having thus transacted with the Scots, called for the English Commissioners, and after a short discourse, dismissed them with a Negative Answer, which they at their return to *Westminster*, having reported, the Parliament thereupon passed an Act, that no Man thereafter should make any Application to him as King of *England*, under Pain of Treason, and withal sent an Order to the Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, to shut him up in close Prison; which he obeyed.

When the Report of these Things came Home, true Royalists were confounded with Grief, that his Majesty had not rather closed with the Parliament of *England* upon any Terms, than again

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to cast himself upon the Scots, of whom late Experience might have taught him what to expect.

But the Committee of Estates and Committee of the Church were over-joy'd, that the King and the English were finally parted, and the Game brought into their Hands again.

The return of the Commissioners was the next thing wished for, touching which they were soon satisfied, for they having no more to do at *London*, hastned Home.

Upon *January 27.* arrived *Hugh Kennedy*, and *Mr. Robert Barclay*; and upon *February 9.* came the rest, together with two of the House of Commons, commissioned from the Parliament of *England* (and with 'em *Mr. Marshal the Preacher*, he who, being here a Year ago, professed to be a *Presbyterian*, but since turn'd *Independent*.) Those gave an Account, that the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Stanford* were also coming from the House of Peers, and with them, *Mr. Herle*.

The Committee of Estates and Committee of the Church, having both sat down, before the Commissioner's arrival to attend the same.

The Chancellor did upon the next Day after their coming, which was *Febr. 10.* make a Speech before the Committee, and reported their Proceedings in *England*, and promised to add to his Discourse upon *Friday* the 15th, excusing his Bre-
vity at that time, by reason of his Sickness.

Upon the 15th the Chancellor prosecuted his Discourse, and after him *Lauderdale* spoke abundantly, which he might well do, having from the Year 1643. till that Time, resided constantly at *London*, with a chief Hand in the management of the Business.

The Committee of the Church was the first that ministered Occasion to the People to doubt, that ere long the King might have cause to repent the Way he had taken; for his Majesty's Concessions being read and considered, the prime Ministers began presently to express their Dissatisfaction therewith.

Whereupon the said Committee sent Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. David Dick, Mr. Robert Blair, and some others, to the Committee of Estates, with a desire, That there might still be a Correspondence betwixt the Committee of the Church and Committee of Estates as formerly, whereby Religion might sustain no prejudice.

The Message was well received by the Committee of Estates; and so much the better because the Marquis of *Argile* backed it, who was now beginning to whisper against the Transactions in the Isle of *Wight*.

So the Committee of Estates appointed a Committee (wherewith the Committee of the Church might correspond) to consider of the Danger of Religion and of the Monarchy.

The Members of this Committee were to be three of every Estate joined to the Commissioners; who some Years past had been commissioned to reside at *London*: So of the Nobility were chosen Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Lanrick* and *Callender*, (for the Chancellor and *Argile* were of the Number of the afore said Commissioners, and therefore needed not to be named) and the reason why *Lanrick* was named, was because tho' of late he happened to be with the rest of them at the Isle of *Wight*, yet was he not in the List with those who some Years ago had been chosen to reside constantly at *London*: And those of the Gentry were

See and Toffis : And for the Burghs *Ar-Sideferf*, with the Commissioners of *Dun-St. Andrews*.

Saturday the 16th came to *Edinburgh* the House of Peers, the Earl of *Nottingham*, (with him Mr. *Hearle*) having left the Earl of *Stanford* at *Berwick*, who was said to march the more slowly by reason of the Money he brought along with him.

Mr. *Hearle* preached in the great Church of *Edinburgh*, upon *Sunday* the 27th, and was observed not to pray for the King.

The Committee of the Church ordained, that none should employ Mr. *Marshall* to preach, it being well known how active he was become for the Sectaries ; as also because it passed current, how he had in his Way hither, preached at *Tork* upon *Ezek. 21. ver. 25, 26, 27.* applying those Words most wickedly to our King.

Yet nevertheless, Mr. *George Gilespy* employed him to preach in the great Church upon *March 25.* and was censured for it.

The Committee of the Church became more and more averse from approving the Transaction with his Majesty at the Isle of *Wight*.

And at length voted his Majesty's Concessions, (which the Commissioners had then, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, accepted as Satisfactory) not to be Satisfactory, yea, to be destructive of the Covenant, and set forth a Declaration to that purpose ; all which was carried in the Committee by a Plurality of Voices, there being in the mean time divers reverend Ministers, who dissented, and pressed that their Dissent might be recorded, *viz.* Those who formerly owned his Majesty, and some others also. Upon the Notice of this Declaration,

the Committee of Estates pretended to be much displeased, but nothing followed thereupon.

The Parliament met on *Thursday, March 2.* where the Cancellor was elected President thereof.

The first Debate that occurred in it, concerned Commissions; for it fell out that in some Shires there were double Elections, which came to pass upon this Occasion: The Argilians having tampered throughout the Shires, that Commissioners might be sent, who would run their Way; it fell out in some Shires that where the major Part had elected one that favoured the King; the other sort pitched upon another of a contrary Temper, and commissioned him. In *Clackmannanshire* 50 Gentlemen, the Plurality chose Mr. *Rob. Meldrom* of *Tullibodie*, (a Dependur upon the *Hamiltons*) but a few that depended upon *Argile*, chose Sir *Charles Ereskin*. Likewise in *Perthshire* the major Part elected the Laids of *Balhyoke* and *Inchmartin*, but the other Faction chose *Aldy* and *Freeland*.

The Parliament confirmed the Commission of *Meldrom*, with *Inchmartin* and *Palthyoke*, and rejected Sir *Charles Ereskin*, with *Aldy* and *Freeland*: And also rejected the Commissions of the Laids *Weddeburn*, *Craigisvar* and *Tofts*, as having been carried on by Tumult and Faction.

On *March 8.* arrived the Earl of *Stanford* from *Berwick*, with the Mony; which was afterwards so privately dispensed, that it came not to be publicly known; and therefore I shall aver no more concerning it; but that I am certain no true Royalist had any share in it.

The Committee of the Church presented to the Parliament, by Mr. *Douglas*, Mr. *Dick*, *Blair*, *Cant*, *Levingston*, and *Gilespie*, with the Laird of *Dundas*,

das, Sir James Stuart, and Mr. George Wendrome, (as Ruling Elders) their Declaration against the King's Concessions.

The Parliament gave it to the several Bodies to be considered of, commanding them in the mean time not to publish it, until the Parliament should be farther advised.

Notwithstanding which, the Committee of the Church caused it to be printed upon *March 12.* after which the Parliament desired it might not be spread, until farther Advertisement; but nevertheless upon *Monday 24.* the Committee made an Act for reading it in all the Kirks of the Kingdom, and presently sent it away to the several Presbyteries for that effect.

And forasmuch as the Parliament dispensed with these Things, the Jealousie which Royalists had always entertained of the Duke and his Brother *Lanrick*, was much encreased, that they and the Marquis of *Argile* were not so opposite in their Designs, as they professed.

For Remedy whereof, and that it might appear to the World, that there was a real Division amongst 'em, nothing less must serve the turn, than a combat betwixt the M. of *Argile*, and the Earl of *Crawford Lindsey*, to be fought on *Monday, March 21.* at 5 of the Clock in the Morning, in the Links of *Stonyhill*, Major *James*, being *Argile's* Second, and *Lanrick Crawford's*: They kept the Appointment, and were an Hour upon the Place, before any came to disturb them; so that they had leasure enough to have fought, if they had been willing. However, the Intention of it gave such Offence to the Committee of the Church, that the Marquis of *Argile* was obliged to do Penance before them, because he had
such

such an hostile Mind; and *Crawford* was desired to do the like, but would not.

This Combate furnished us with Sport for a time.

Upon the Expectation which Strangers had of this Kingdom's engaging, by this time were Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *Tho. Glennin*, and other English Officers, come hither to offer their Service, and shortly after an 100 more came into *Pebbles* and *Kelfo* expecting to be employed, and lest they should be misconstrued, sent two of their Number to represent the Cause of their coming to the Parliament.

This Appearance of Strangers put Life into honest Men; whereupon it came to be mentioned in Parliament, that some Course might be taken in reference to the Declaration of the Committee of the Church. The Duke and his Brother approv'd the Motion, and propos'd that a Proclamation should be published against it : But suffered the same presently to be rejected. It was next mov'd, that a Declaration should be emitted, but having once spoken of it, they never press'd it farther, whereby it vanish'd also, and so nothing was done at all.

Afterwards it was propos'd in Parliament, that six of every Estate should be nominated to have the full Power of determining in the great Business : For which end every one of the Estates to chuse 12 of their Order; which being reported to the Parliament, the House out of each 12 should pitch upon 6. And this Motion was concluded by a Vote of Parliament, notwithstanding the Marquis of *Argile* and all his Faction oppos'd it : So absolute was Duke *Hamilton's* Power, that he could carry what he pleas'd, many adhering to him upon

Interest of Blood and Friendship; and others fancying him to be for the King.

When the several Bodies met apart, *Argile* and his Adherents refused to give their Vote to the Nomination of the Twelves, but it was done without them.

And when (the Report being made of the three Twelves) the Parliament began out of each of them to pitch upon Six, the Marquis and his Followers not only dissented, but also protested against it, and withal left the House. Those that join'd in the Protestation were, the Earls of *Cassels*, *Eglington* and *Lothian*; Lords *Arbuthnot*, *Torphichen*, *Burleigh*, *Balmerinoch* and *Couper*; Lairds of *Scotsraige*, *Humbie* and *Warriston*; and Burghesses *John Short* of *Sterlin*, *George Porterfield* of *Glasgow*, with some petty Burghers in *Fife* and the *West-Countrey*.

The Parliament nevertheless proceeded to the Election of Six out of every Estate out of the Twelves, *viz.* Of the Nobility were, the Duke, the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Lanrick*, *Callander*, and *Lauderdale*; Of the Gentry, *Innerpeffer*, *Collinton*, *Arreston*, *Lee*, *Humbie* and *Warriston*; and of the Burroughs, *Archibald Sydeserf* Bailiff of *Edinburgh*, *Sir Alex. Wedderburn* Clerk of *Dundee*, *Patrick Lesley* of *Aberdeen*, *George Bell* of *Glasgow*, *James Robertson* of *St. Andrews* and *Tho. Macbirnie*.

This being concluded, it was next motioned, that the Marquis of *Argile* (with those that had joined in the Protestation) should be censured, as their Offence deserved; but the Duke and his Brother disallowed it, as inexpedient; so they were called in, and desired to take their Places again, without so much as one Word of Reproof for their Separation. Then

Then did the Committee of the Kirk appear again, and express their dislike of the Power given to that Committee; whereupon the Parliament did appoint some of that Committee to confer with them about that Business.

At the Conference, the Committee of the Kirk presented some Articles of an Oath, which they desired to be taken, *viz.*

An Oath of Association, for preserving the Ends of the Covenant. 1648.

I. *Imprimis*, Concerning Religion and the Covenant, That except the King did first subscribe and swear to both Covenants, it was not lawful for any to endeavour his Restitution.

II. That Popery and Prelacy be extirpated, as also Erastianism and all other Sects.

III. No Communication with Malignants in any of the three Kingdoms.

IV. No Negative Voice to the King.

V. That these Articles be added to his Majesty's Coronation-Oath, and of all his Successors.

VI. And lastly, That any that refuse this Oath be not capable of any Charge, Ecclesiastical or Civil, nor to enjoy their own Fortunes.

Those that treated with the Committee rejected this Oath, whereupon the Committee of the Kirk gave up the Conference for that time.

Yet upon *March 22.* the said Committee gave in a new Paper to the Parliament, containing eight Propositions, which they craved to be admitted; whereupon the Parliament added two more of every Estate to the Committee of 12, *viz.* the Earls of *Roxbrough* and *Traquair*, the Lairds of *Innes* and *Garthland*; and *John Kennedie* and Mr. *John Hay* of *Elgin*, making the Committee in the whole to consist of 24. and appointed them to set a time
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to treat with the Ministers concerning their Propositions.

Having met, they did not accord, and so the Ministers left off to treat more with the Committee.

In the mean time arrived on *March 26.* at *Leith* a Pinnage, which set ashore Sir *William Flemming*, his Errand was said to be, that the Commissioners had at the Isle of *Wight*, sent to the Queen and Prince some Assurance of their Resolution to engage this Nation for the King, and now he was come from them to learn, what they might expect as to the Performance thereof. The Letters which he delivered were to the Chancellor, Duke *Hamilton*, *Lauderdale* and *Lanrick*.

In few Days after they dispatched him with their Answers; and to bear him company, *William Murray* of the Bed-chamber, embarked with him; whose Name was so odious among Royalists, that they were sorry the Prince should have such a Man about him.

After long delay, at length upon *April 11.* three Things were voted and concluded in Parliament.

1. That they should demand the King to be brought from his Prison in the Isle of *Wight*, to *London* or thereabouts, in Honour, Freedom and Safety.

2. That they should require the English to disband their Sectarian Army. And,

3. That Religion be established there, according to their Covenant and Treaties. Against all which voted the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earl of *Cassels*, Sir *Archibald Johnston*, and but very few more; for divers, who in all things else were harmonious with them, differed from them upon this Vote.

After

After this the Parliament went on, to determine the Breaches of the Covenant by the English, that some might be sent up to demand Reparation thereof.

In the mean time the Church continued very angry; so that from the several Synods conven'd in *April*, came Supplications to the Parliament, that nothing might be done without the Committee of the General Assembly.

As also General *Lesley*, *David Lesley*, and *Hoborn* signed a Supplication to that same Effect.

Which gave Occasion to a great many Reformers to join in the contrary, and to supplicate that the Parliament would go on, offering to venture their Lives and Fortunes in the Cause.

In the 3d Week in *April* the Committee of the Church appeared again, and having regretted, that so little Respect was had to the Supplications of the Synods, did themselves present to the Parliament a new Paper, which was remitted to the Committee to consider of it.

And upon *April* 20. the Parliament having framed a new Declaration, voted and concluded the publishing thereof: In reference whereunto, one thing was observed, *viz.* That when Sir *James Lockart* motioned that it might be expressly in the Declaration, that we should unite with none but such as took the Covenant, the Duke and his Brother seemed angry with him; and would have it thus, that we should unite with none that took up Arms to oppose the Covenant; and yet presently they acquiesced, that it should be expressed in the Terms wherein Sir *James* had moved it.

The Marquis of *Argile* and his Adherents renewed their Dissent; and required the same to be recorded,

Here-

Hereafter in the last Week of *April*, it was concluded by the Parliament, that the Kingdom should be put in a Posture of War.

This had been done sooner, had there not been a Division in Judgment, not only amongst the Members of Parliament, but generally also among the Royalists throughout the Kingdom, concerning the chief Command: For General *Lesley* and *David Lesley* also were against the Engaging; and drew with them to that Way, Col. *Scot*, Col. *Ker*, and *Hoborn*; so that there came only two to be talked of in reference to the highest Command; the one was Duke *Hamilton*, whose Friends contended that it might be settled on him; the other was the Earl of *Callendar*: Very many were for it, that he should be the Man, being more jealous of the Duke, because of late Emergents, viz. 1. His lingring so long in his Resolutions. 2. His comporting with the high Carriage of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. And, 3. His Vote against censuring the Marquis of *Argile* and his Adherents for their Protesting.

Those Things being added to their former Grounds of Prejudice against the Duke, made that as yet they could not consent harmoniously about the Business.

However, the Act of Posture being passed, the Parliament did upon *April* 28. dispatch Lieutenant-Colonel *Murshal* to the Parliament of *England*, with a Remonstrance of their Breaches, allowing him only to stay 10 Days at *London*, and then to return, whether he got any Answer from the Parliament or not.

As also Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* went away, and with a Party of English Horse which joined him at the Borders, made himself Master of *Berwick*,

wick, and Sir *Philip Musgrave* at the same time had *Carlisle* surrendered to him, the People in both Towns complying willingly to admit them, whereby their Towns might be useful to the Scots Army.

And upon *May 3.* the Parliament voted and concluded a Levie of 30000 Foot and 6000 Horse, as also to call home Major-General *George Monroe* from *Ireland*, with his Army, to join in the Expedition, allowing them a Month's Pay in ready Money, whereof a Fortnight's Pay before they imbarke, and the other at their landing, the Lord *Cockerun* and the Laird of *Garthland* being appointed to go over for them.

And the Parliament, after the Act of Levie, made another, That none should speak against the Procedure of the Parliament, under all highest Pains.

Yet did the Marquis and his Adherents presently speak against the same, and more proudly than before renew their Dissent, and were not censured for it.

And the Committee of the Church expressed a very extream Dislike, and solemnly protested against all that was resolved, sending to the several Presbyteries Copies of their Protestation, with a strict Order to keep on the last Sabbath in *May* a Publick Fast against the Course. All which was represented in Parliament, yet such was the Duke's Clemency and his Brother's, that they would suffer nothing to be said to them, which made the jealousy which many had harboured against them, to encrease more and more.

Yet upon *May 10.* Duke *Hamilton* was elected General of the Army, and after him the Earl of *Callender*, Lieutenant-General both of Horse and Foot,

Foot, *Middleton* Lieutenant-General of Horse, and *Baylie* Lieutenant-General of Foot.

Many of the Colonels and other Officers as before; but one thing was thought strange, that albeit the Marquis of *Argile* and his Adherents had to their uttermost opposed the Act of Levy; yet were they made Colonels in the Shires where they lived.

Likewise the Parliament nominated a Committee of War in every Shire for promoting the Levies.

And upon the 11th of *May* the Parliament (having appointed the Grand Committee of Twenty Four, to rule in the mean time) adjourned it self till the 1st of *June*, whereby the Noblemen and others that had Commissions might retire Home and go about their Levies.

And at their parting were refreshed with good News; viz. 1. That the Duke of *Tork* (who had been the Parliament's Prisoner, in the Custody of the Earl of *Northumberland*) was escaped and now safely arrived beyond Sea. And, 2. That in the North of *England* great Numbers had joined Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave*, whereby they were like to become a considerable Army.

But the Committee of the Church continued highly displeased with the Conclusion passed in Parliament; in Token whereof, so soon as the Grand Committee sat, they presented to them a Refutation of the Parliament's Declaration; and afterwards sent the same to the several Presbyteries, together with a strict Order, that no Minister should read from the Pulpit the said Declaration; nor in any sort comply in promoting Levies, under pain of highest Censure.

So

So soon as the Parliament rose, the Opposers of the Levies went straight Home, to employ themselves in the obstructing the same : But the Marquis of *Argile* stayed a Day longer in *Edinburgh*, giving Instructions to Major *Strachan*, whom they sent up to *Cromwel*. His Errand was at first kept close ; but shortly after it broke out, how it was to desire *Cromwel* to send a Party to *Scotland*, with which the Opposers of the Engagement might join for making a Division. This was represented in the Grand Committee, as a Matter to be taken Notice of, but the Duke slighted it, affirming to have certain Intelligence, that the Rising (near *London*) by the Lords *Capel*, *Goring*, and others, gave *Fairfax* so much Diversion ; and the other in *Wales*, by *Poyen's*, &c. the same to *Cromwel* ; that there was no cause of Fear from *England*, and so no censure was inflicted for that Correspondence : And the Duke, immediately after it was resolved, retired to *Hamilton* to look after his private Affairs, having appointed the Grand Committee to sit nevertheless in his Absence.

The Marquis of *Argile*, so soon as *Strachan* was safely gone, went over to *Fife*, to deal with the Gentry there, not only to stand out, but to be in a readiness to rise upon the other Account, whenever the Call should be given.

And having engaged *Fife*, he went next to *Sterlinshire*, where he found not the like Success. For none of the Gentry in that Shire comply'd with him, except the Laird of *Buchanan*, and Sir *William Bruce* of *Stanhouse*, with very few more, and those of the inferior Sort.

From thence upon *May 21.* the Marquis removed to *Dumbartonshire*, where he easily prevailed,
in

in regard the People thereof lying under his Feet, must always be at his Devotion, and from thence he hasted to a Meeting, with the Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of *Cassels* and *Eglinton*, and Mr. *David Dick* and some other Ministers, which was held at *Eglinton's* House, upon *Monday, May 29.* and there having given them an Account of the Instructions he had given to Major *Strachan*, and of the Success he had in passing thro' the Shires, they parted, and he went Home to engage his own People and the Isles.

By this time Col. *Marshal* was returned, whose Report to the Committee was, That the Parliament of *England* said they would send their Answer to their own Commissioners that resided here.

Those were the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Stanford*; for those from the Lower-house Mr. *Ashurst* and Mr. *Waller* had returned Home in *April*, and with them Mr. *Marshal*.

The first Report of Disobedience to the Levy-Act which the Committee received, was from *Glasgoe*; for remedy whereof Col. *William Urry*; and Col. *James Turner* (who now had gotten *Haborn's* Regiment) were sent West to lie at *Glasgoe*, until both City and Countrey should give Obedience. The People of *Glasgoe* (being disaffected) used them so unkindly, that they were obliged to carry themselves more rudely than otherwise they would.

Whereupon the People had that Confidence, as to send two of their Bayliffs to *Edinburgh*, to complain of them to the Committee of Estates, who, for underraking such a Commission, were imprisoned, and the rest of the Magistrates that had sent them, cited to appear before the Committee.

This

This was done in the Absence of the Duke: And hereby the People of *Glasgow* were so frightened, that they promised hearty Obedience in putting out their Levy, which nevertheless they did not perform.

The next Occurrence was, That the Wives of *Edinburgh* began to appear upon the Stage again, and to act as at the beginning, abusing the Members of the Committee in the Street; yea, upon *May 29.* they assaulted their own Provost so furiously, that he was forced to retire into his House for shelter, and for some Day safter kept within, and durst not appear.

Upon *May 31.* the Lords and other Members of Parliament returned, (except the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earls of *Cassels* and *Eglinton*, and some others of their Stamp) and the Duke entering at the West Port, rode through the Town to *Holyrood-house*, accompanied with 400 Horse.

And the next Day (*June 1.*) the Lords and Gentry, having gone betimes to salute his Grace, he chose to walk on Foot with 'em to the Parliament-House, where (in the Way) some Wives, who before had assaulted the Provost, made bold to abuse the Duke himself, and threw Stones at him: Among whom the Ring-leader was one surnamed *Kelty*, who being searched for by the Magistrates, hid her self, but her Husband was imprisoned, till he should produce her.

The Parliament being assembled, there appeared many Ministers and Gentlemen from *Fife*, and the Western Shires to supplicate against the Levy, whom *Lothian*, *Balmerinoch*, *Burleigh* and *Warriston* assisted. The Supplications were referred to the Grand Committee of Twenty Four. To the which (in regard of the Absence of some)

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were

were added three more of every Estate, *viz.* Of the Nobility, *Dumfermling, Balmerinoch and Bargenny*; of the Gentry, *Clerkinton, Maner and Tullibodie*; and of the Burghs, *James Lenton* of St. Andrews, *John Ochterlony* of Arbroth, and *Alexander Strange* for Forfar.

The Committee having considered those Supplications, rejected them; and upon *June 7.* gave in to the Committee of the Church, by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale*, a Declaration, which did no ways satisfy them; and therefore the next Day in their Wrath, they removed *Crawford* out of the Committee, (wherein hitherto he had sat as a Ruling-Elder) giving that for a chief Reason for it, because he had not yet done Penance for the intended Combat betwixt him and the Marquis of *Argile*.

Then the Committee of the Kirk gave over any farther treating with the Parliament, as also sent unto the several Presbyteries, an act, ordaining all Ministers to preach against the Engagement under pain of Deposition: The Parliament made an act to the contrary, but the most Part of Ministers obeyed the Will of the Committee, because they knew they were in earnest; but for the Parliament they knew not well what they meant. And indeed when such as did not obey the Committee, came afterwards to be prosecuted for it, they found little Sympathy from the Parliament-Men.

By this time the Colonels *Urry* and *Turner*, sent Word to the Parliament, that those in the West Countrey who opposed the Levy, were like to draw to a Head; whereupon the Earl of *Callendar* and *Middleton* were appointed to haste Westward with more Forces.

After

After which the Parliament being certified, that (except in the *West* and *Fife*) the Levy was in all other Places perfected and the Regiments ready to march; therefore hastened to a Conclusion, and the last Acts done in it were these:

The Magistrates of *Glasgow*, that had been imprisoned in the Duke's Absence, were enlarged and discharged, without Censure.

That Woman, surnamed *Kelty*, who had thrown Stones at the Duke, was pardoned.

And it being pressed by some of the Members, that *Argile's* late trafficking through the Shires, and dispatching of Major *Strachan* to *Cromwell*, might be taken Notice of, the Motion was quashed; and instead of Censure, he was (by a courteous Letter from the Parliament) invited to come and embrace his Place of a Colonel in the Army.

But the next was worst of all; for from the beginning of Parliament to this time, nothing had been moved concerning the Marquis of *Huntley*, notwithstanding his Friends did frequently importune the Duke concerning him; and so it was concluded, that his deferring of it was to make his Enlargement the last Act of Parliament, knowing how acceptable it would be to all true Royalists, that the Nobleman who had been kept so long close in a stinking Jail; should now recover his Liberty: But all that was determined anent him was, that his Prison should be changed from the Tolbooth to the Castle; whereby he might have a more wholesome Air: This was very hardly constructed, that now, when (in the Absence of the Marquis of *Argile* and his Adherents) the Duke had such a Power in the House, that he might do what he pleased, the foresaid Noble-

man had found no more favour ; and indeed Men could not see what other Design there could be in it, but to gratifie the Argilian Faction, by continuing him under Restraint ; that when they should recover their Power again, they might cut off his Head, which at length came to pass.

And upon *Saturday, June 10.* the Parliament rose, having first appointed the next Parliament to be holden in *March 1650.* and also having appointed a Grand Committee to rule in the mean time, with ample Power in all Emergents ; as also (*pro re nata*) to call a Parliament before the appointed Diet ; nine of the Committee to make *Quorum* at Home, and seven with the Army ; and in Matters of Moment, the two Committees to correspond.

In relation to this Model of the Committee of Estates, one thing was remarked by those who were possessed with Prejudice against the Duke ; and it was that his Grace would needs have the Marquis of *Argile* and his Adherents nominated Members of the Committee, notwithstanding they had openly deserted the Parliament, and were actually employed in stirring up Disobedience thereto.

This, with many former Things, was the Occasion that now (at the close of the Parliament) the Jealousie which Royalists had of the Duke, began to encrease, and grow more Universal, than at the first sitting down thereof.

Nevertheless the Noblemen and others in Office, halted Home, to bring forth their Regiments, that against the end of that Month, the Army might be drawn to the South Borders.

And

And by this time the Earl of *Callendar* and *Middleton*, with their Forces, were gotten as far as *Paisley*, and having appointed a Rendezvous of their Regiments, together with *Turner's* and *Urry's*, at *Stewarton*, upon the 12th of *June*, they were informed there, that a great Multitude were already in Arms against them at *Machlen*; whereupon *Middleton* and *Urry* were sent thither with six Troops of Horse, to require them to disband, and give Obedience to the King and Parliament.

The reason why they carried with them no greater Forces, was because the Earls of *Glen-carn* and *Eglinton*, having come to salute the Earl of *Callendar*, assured him, That their Number was not considerable; yet notwithstanding what those Earls had said, *Middleton* found them 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, and thereupon posted a Messenger away presently for more Forces to be sent him.

The Chief Commanders of the Western People, were some Ministers, viz. Mr. *William Aldair*, Mr. *William Guthrie*, Mr. *Gabriel Maxwell*, and Mr. *John Neve*, (old *Cum's* Nephew.) They parly'd with *Middleton*, and would needs fight, and so would their misled People, especially 600 of Duke *Hamilton's* Men of *Ovendale* and *Lesmahagoe*, who (having risen at his very Elbow, and at the time when he was at *Hamilton*) were most violent of any.

The Fight lasted not long; *Middleton* in an Instant put them all to the Rout, eighty of them being killed upon the Place, the rest were taken Prisoners, except a very few that escaped by Flight.

The Prisoners were all set at Liberty, without any hazard of suffering, except three Soldiers of Fortune, whom a Council of War condemned to die, yet were those also, at the Request of some Ladies, pardoned; and so no Execution followed upon the Victory, which had not been the Custom in former Times, when any that fought for the King, happened to fall into the Enemy's Hands.

Shortly after that Victory came Intelligence, That *Lambert* with 2000 Horse, had come as far as *Carlisle*, but since he heard of the Defeat his Friends had gotten at *Machlen*, was retired Southward again.

This gave many occasion to talk of Major *Strachan's* Message to *Cromwel*, (although the Duke slighted it) and to conjecture that *Lambert's* coming Northward, was to have joined them, if the Defeat had not intervened; which was the more probable, in regard the Marquis of *Argile* had caused *Archinles* to draw his Regiment, against that time, to *Downe* in *Monteith*, whereby, if that Fight in the *West* had prospered, they might presently have possessed themselves of the Town and Bridge of *Sterlin*, (which the Parliament had no ways secured) and so by making that Pass secure, the People of *Fife* might have had a safe and easie March towards them.

However, let the Plot be what it would, *Midleton's* Victory disappointed it; whereupon the Gentry in the *West* entred into strict Bonds to obey the Act for putting forth their Levies, but neither did they afterwards perform the same, nor were they questioned by the Committee of Estates for Deficiency. So Matters were carried.

The

The *West* being quieted, the Earl of *Callendar*, *Middleton* and the rest, drew their Forces Southward, to join the Army, which by that time was got together near the Borders.

Upon *Saturday*, *July* 8. the Scotch Army marched forward to *England*, and next Day had the Town of *Carlisle* delivered to them, where Sir *William Levingston* of West-quarter was made Governour under the Earl of *Calendar*; and *Berwick* being shortly after delivered up also, *Lodovick Lesley* was appointed Governour thereof under Duke *Hamilton*.

Major-General *George Monroe* had arrived by this time from *Ireland*, with 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and went straight after the Army to *England*.

Upon *July* 12. the General Assembly met at *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *George Gillespy* was elected Moderator.

It was now expected, when there was an Army on Foot, (unto which they had been bold to make such Opposition) they should have behaved very moderately: Yet never had any Assembly carried so highly and arbitrarily, as this did. Their first Conflict was with the Committee of Estates, and it was upon this Occasion.

A Committee having been nominated by the Assembly to revise the Proceedings of the late Committee, and being ready upon *Monday* the 17th to make their Report; in the mean time there came from the Committee of Estates, the Earl of *Glencarne*, Sir *James Carmichael* Treasurer-Deputy, and *Archibald Sydserfe* Bailiff of *Edinburgh*, and desired, that before the Assembly should proceed, to approve the late Committee

of the Kirk, the Committee of the Estates might first be heard.

Some honest Men in the Assembly (who looked no farther than Appearance) expected there should have been a Debate in earnest; but more intelligent Royalists took it only for an Amusement, to hide the Collusion which was among the Great Ones on both Sides.

However, the Assembly granted their Desire, and so deferred the Business till next Morning at 10 a Clock, against which time they undertook to bring in a Complaint.

And returning at that time, upon new Pretexs, they craved a farther Delay, till 4 a Clock in the Afternoon, which being also granted, they did at that Diet appear; and then, without any the least Debate, passed gallantly from making any Accusation; which (tho' it surprized the simpler sort) was no other than Men, who studied their Ways, looked for at their Hands.

So the Committee of the preceding Assembly was approved with triumph.

And then a Declaration was framed, and put forth by the Assembly against the Army, proving the Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of the Engagement.

And that being done, a new Committee (consisting of the same Persons, with little Alteration) was established for that Year.

And lest that Committee should not be able to reach all the Ministers whom they meant to depose; therefore, besides it, were other three Committees appointed, (under the Name of *Visitations*) whereof one to depose in the Presbyteries of *Sterlin* and *Dumblain*; another in the Presbyteries

teries of *Dunse* and *Chirmside* ; and the third in *Caitness* and *Orkney*.

And to make all sure, there was an Act passed in the Assembly, that if any Minister whom they sentenced, should afterwards up-lift or receive any Part of his Stipend, he should for that Crime be excommunicated.

As also, to the End those Visitants might not scruple to depose such as they had a mind to be quit off, (whatsoever their Abilities or Deservings were) the Assembly set them a Copy, by silencing two Ministers at *Edinburgh*, viz, Mr. *Andrew Ramsey*, and Mr. *William Colvil* ; who for their Eminence in Learning, Diligence in their Calling, and Strictness in their Conversation, were Ornaments to the Church of *Scotland*.

Also the Assembly did at the same time open the Mouth of (*i. e.* impower) one *Gillan* to preach the Gospel, though he was but a poor ignorant Plough-man, whose greatest Proficiency in Learning was, that he could read English.

And then the Assembly rose, with much less Applause than any that had formerly been.

Towards the end of *July*, Sir *William Fleming* returned from the Prince, and having brought with him much Ammunition and other Military Furniture for the Army ; the same (by the Committee's Order) was carried to the Castle to be kept there, that they might be sure not to have it at Command ; that Place being in the Power of General *Lesley*, who dissembled not his adhering to the other Party.

Against *August 5*. Sir *William* was dispatched, and with him went the Earl of *Lauderdale*, to
invite

invite the Prince to come to *Scotland*, who then with his Navy lay at the *Downs*.

So soon as it came to be noised that *Lauderdale* was embarked, the Royalists called him a *ventrous Man*, who would hazard to go to the Prince, having been so active against the King: For they presumed, that the Prince could not be ignorant, how for the space of four Years he had resided constantly at *London*, fomenting the Combination betwixt the two Parliaments, and never returned until he had left the King a close Prisoner in *Carrisbrook-Castle*, and until the Vote of *No Addresses* had past against him. And they pleased themselves with Conjectures, what the Prince's Deportment would be to him.

But ere long, contrary to their Expectations, News came, That the Prince made him welcome, and used him with Familiarity and Respect enough; which put them to a stand. And by that time Intelligence was brought from the Army, how at *Appleby* they had skirmished with *Lambert*, and therein had the Advantage: And that thereupon *Lambert* retired Southward, and that the Scotch Army followed to *Lancashire*, where the Town of *Preston* was the Head-Quarters; But that withall quartered so wide, that betwixt the Van and Rear of the Army, was 38 Miles.

And that moreover, they suffered not *George Monroe* and his Forces to come up, but kept them always behind, to bring forward the Scotch Cannon, which in Number were 5.

The Chancellor, the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earls of *Cassels* and *Eglinton*, were all the while
 busie

busie at Home, preparing the People to be in a Posture, against the Ruine or Surrendring of the Scotch Army, whereof they professed openly not to doubt.

And the Certainty of their stickling in the *West*, coming to be known by the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*, they concluded a present Levy of three Regiments of Horse for suppressing them, and nominated all the Officers thereof, and the Earl of *Lanrick* to command them in Chief.

Such was the Loyalty of the Gentry, whom they made Rout-Masters, and the forwardness of the inferior Sort to do Service, that those three Regiments were very soon in a readiness.

But in the mean time, *Cromwel* having quieted *Wales*, came up to *Lambert*, and upon *Thursday, August 17.* both fell in upon Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and his People, who fought it well, but in the end were beaten, in regard they were over-powered; and also their Ammunition failed; and having sent to the Duke and Earl of *Calendar*, for a Supply of Forces and Ammunition, the same was refused them, upon a Pretext that it was but a Skirmish, and that *Langdale's* Ambition was such, that he meant to have the whole Glory of the Business.

The next Morning *Cromwel* and *Lambert* assaulted the Scots, and made them know it was more than a Skirmish; the Scotch Army never came together, (being so wide quartered) and many of the Commanders also were sick of their last Night's Surfeit, which with other Neglects, helped *Cromwel* to an easie Victory. Major-General *Bayly* at the first surrendred himself and 10000 Foot, Prisoners; the rest of them straggled

gled Northwards towards *Monroe* : And for the Horse, the Duke and *Calendar* with the rest of the General Officers, (except *Middleton*, who made the best Defence of any, and was taken upon the Place) and 3000 Horse fled together in a Body ; while the rest marched away in small Parties ; and so many of them as got off, joined themselves to *George Monroe*, who always having kept behind, escaped this *Scouring*.

Shortly after the Duke, with the other General Officers in his Company, and all their Body of Horse, were taken Prisoners ; only the Earl of *Calendar*, disguising himself, escaped, and went over to *Holland*.

So that Army, which was one of the greatest and best furnished that ever *Scotland* sent forth, having been a Year in preparing, was ruined in an instant ; which created the less Astonishment at Home, in regard that Observing Men, (who had given themselves time to think and remark the Management of Business, since the first Motion of a Levy) expected no better would come of it.

However, the first Consequence of it, within *Scotland* was, that upon the Knowledge thereof, the West-Landers began to be troublesome : For a Number of the Earl of *Eglinton's* People drew together, under the Command of *Robert Montgomery* his Son, and fell upon a Troop of *Lanrick's*, (quartered in those Bounds) and killed some and routed the rest.

The Report whereof coming to the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*, it was resolved presently to call forth all the *Fencible* Men in the Kingdom, *i. e.* such as could bear Arms, for suppressing the Western Insurrection,

And

And for a General to command them, (it being much debated in the Committe) *Crawford Lindsey* Prefident thereof, propos'd *Lanrick*, and all the Hamiltonian Faction (except the Earl of *Roxbrough*) were for him; but others oppos'd it to their utmost, and inclined to the Earl-Marshal. But the Question being put to the Vote, the Earl of *Lanrick* (by the Plurality) carried the Employment, being so loth to have miss'd it, that he voted for himself, which is not very ordinary.

And he being made General, all Men expected he should have march'd to the *West*, to suppress that Insurrection, which might easily have been done, in regard none were as yet in Arms, but those Men of *Eglinton's* commanded by Col. *Robert*; and that *Lanrick* had in readiness those three Regiments of Horse, which had been levied before the Defeat; besides many others that hourly join'd him.

But instead thereof, he turn'd to *East-Lothian*, and from thence to the South Borders, professing it was to meet with *George Monroe* and his Forces, who were upon their Retreat homewards.

By *Lanrick's* thus retiring to the *South*, all the Westlanders had a fair and peaceable Opportunity to rise: So that the whole Shires of *Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrew, Clydesdale, Evendale* and *Leshmahagoe*, join'd together (to the Number of 6000 Men) and march'd forward towards *Edinburgh*, having at their Head, *Loudon* the Chancellor, and *Eglinton*, with Mr. *David Dick* and the rest of the Ministers in those Parts. The Earl of *Cassels*, who brought forth the People of *Currick* and *Galloway*,

loway, was not yet in readines; neither was the Marquis of *Argile* with his Men.

Amongst all that headed this Insurrection, there was none so generally abhorred as *Lowdon* the Chancellor, not only in regard of his Ingratitude to the King, (who, in the Year 1641. raised him from the Rank of a Lord, to the Title of an *Earl*; and preferred him to be High-Chancellor; and farther, gave him the yearly Pension of 1000 *l.* Sterling, and also the best Part of the whole Annuities throughout the Kingdom) but much more because of his late Treachery to his Majesty, who having, at the Isle of *Wight*, been a prime Instrument in persuading him, to refuse treating with the Parliament of *England*, and to cast himself upon the Scots; and that now when by so doing his Majesty could hope for no Favour from the English, he did then fall from the Assurance then given by him and the other Commissioners to his Majesty, and instead of assisting the Army, raised in reference thereto, did now (after the same had got a Defeat by Strangers) head a lawless Multitude, to oppose and cut off the Remainder thereof.

However, the West-Landers advanced towards *Edinburgh*, from whence Sir *James Lockhart* of *Lee*, and Sir *James Hepburn* of *Homeby*, (two Dependents on the *Hamiltons*, and on that account great Committee-Men) went to meet them, and to draw on a Treaty betwixt *Lanrick* the new General and Them.

As also when they drew nigh to the City, some of the Magistrates and Ministers thereof, went out to welcom them, and conducted them towards the Town, where the Gates were cast open,
and

and they received with Joy : Whereupon *Crawford* and *Glencarn* (who till then had stay'd in hazard waiting for *Lee's* and *Hombie's* return) did remove, and go Southward to the General.

By this time the Marquis of *Argile*, having levied the few Men of his Countrey, which then were extant, (the most thereof having been destroy'd by *Montross* and *Mac Donald*) came forward, and on his Way wrote to the Gentry of *Lenox* and *Sterlinshire*, to attend and rendezvous near *Dumbarton*, upon the 8th Day of *September*.

And yet when the Day was come, his Numbers were small, amounting in the whole but to 600 Foot and 100 Horse, whereof only 300 were his own; the Remnant being Countrey-People of *Lenox* and the West-end of *Sterlinshire*, who came in to him to eschew being plundered.

After his Rendezvous, the Marquis marched Eastward, and upon *Sept. 11.* quartered his Men at *Cargonnoch*.

Before this time, *Monroe* (with his Army, and many more, who having escaped at *Preston*, had joined him) was returned to the Borders, and united with *Lanrick*, and acknowledged him for their General.

Likewise Sir *James Tilusley* with 1000 English Horse, (who since the Detèat had kept together in a Body) came thither, and desired to be admitted to join with them.

This Offer of a 1000 Horse, was no despicable Help, if they had intended Action; yet *Lanrick* refused the same, alledging, it would
be

be a Reason to draw *Cromwel* into *Scorland*.

And so those English Gentlemen were rejected, and left to take such Quarters as *Cromwel* would please to give them.

And *Lanrick* and *Monroe*, with their Forces, came Northward to *Haddington*, and from thence towards *Edinburgh*.

The Chancellor and *Eglinton*, with their Western People, faced them upon the Craigs by West the Town, and it was said, that *George Monroe* desired to fight them, which (had it been so resolved by *Lanrick* and his Committee) might (probably) have obtained an easie Victory; not only because their Strength was considerable, being above 4000 Horse and as many Foot of expert Soldiers, but also in regard the Westlanders (though not much inferior in Number) were all poor ignorant Creatures, taken from their Husbandry, and brought forth only to make a Show, as also Multitudes of them every Day running Home to get in their Harveft.

But *Lanrick*, with *Crawford* and *Glencarn*, resolved not to fight, and instead thereof concluded to go Westward, and possess themselves of the Town and Bridge of *Sterlin*, whereby they might secure that Pass for the Forces they expected from the North.

So upon *Monday, September 11*. they marched forward to *Lithgoe*, and in the mean time the Earl of *Cassels*, with the Poople of *Carrick* and *Galloway*, (reckoned 800 Horse) had for that Night taken up their Quarters in the Town, whereby they might (probably) have been surprized, had not some Friend (and, as the constant Report went, it was *Crawford Lindsey*) sent them word to withdraw. Where-

Whereupon (leaving their Supper at the Fire) they marched away to the *Queen's-Ferry*, and *Lanrick* and *Monroe's* Army coming thither, fared the better for their being there before them.

Next Day, *September 12*: the Marquis of *Argile* and his People, (not knowing of their intention to come thither) entred *Sterlin*, about 11 a Clock, where the Marquis put his People to several Posts, placing some at the Bridge and the rest at the *Barras-Gate* and *Burrow-Mill*; then went to the Tollbooth and held a Committee with his Officers, calling in the Magistrates to take Care for providing Entertainment for his Men.

And having dispatched that Affair, went next to have dined with the Earl of *Mar*.

But while the Meat was setting on the Table, his Lordship was alarmed with the approach of *Monroe's* Army; whereupon he presently mounted his Horse, and taking his Way by *Sterlin-Bridge*, fled with such speed, as if his Enemies had been at his Heels, and never looked behind him, until (after 18 Miles riding) he reached the North *Queen's-Ferry*, and there possessed himself of a Boat again, (now the fourth time.) The poor Men whom he had left at *Sterlin-Bridge*, (being above an Hundred in Number) were all cut off; which fell out upon this Occasion.

Monroe, when he was advanced on his march, within two Miles of *Sterlin*, hearing that the Marquis had possessed himself of that Place, stay'd not to consult with *Lanrick* and his Committee, (who happened to be behind with the Foot) but presently made forward at a swifter

R

rate

rate than before, and getting Intelligence, (when he drew near the Town) that the Marquis was upon his Flight by the Bridge, rode quickly towards it, hoping to have catched him, but he was gone long before, and the poor Creatures who kept Post there, were become so confounded with the suddenness of his with-drawing, that when *Monroe* approached them, they had not so much use of Judgment and Reason, as once to cry for Quarter; but instead thereof, (following their Lord's Example, although not with the same Success) they all fled on the sudden, and attempted to have delivered themselves by speed of Foot, wherein their Hopes failed them; for *Monroe's* Troopers soon overtook them, and cut them all in Pieces: None of them escaped falling by the Sword, except such as (to avoid it) threw themselves into the River, and were drowned.

The rest of the Marquis's Men (who kept their Posts at the *Barras-Gate* and *Burrow-Mill*) had better Fortune: For *Lanrick*, *Glencarn* and *Crawford-Lindsey*, with the Foot-Army, entering the Town that Way, did (before *Monroe's* return from the Execution at the Bridge) give them all Quarter, whereby they (being about five hundred Men) became Prisoners, and were kept, the one half of them in the Tollbooth, and the other in the Kirk.

That very Night, the Western Army followed Westward, and at Night reached *Fall-Kirk*, and with them *David Lesley*, Col. *Ker*, *Hoborn*, and other Soldiers of Fortune, that now had joined them, besides Additional Helps they had from divers of the Gentry of *Fife*, and many more

more from the *South*, especially from the Ear of *Bacclough* and his Friends of the Name of *Scot*.

Lanrick, *Crawford* and *Glencarn* being settled in *Sterlin*, did presently convene their Committee, wherein they expressed no small Grief for *Argile's Men*, whom *Monroe* had cut off.

But he, not knowing what they could mean thereby, was so far from repenting, that instead thereof he proposed a new Motion, which vexed them more; and it was, That he might be allowed the next Morning to march to *Fall-kirk*, and destroy the Western Army, which he thought was very *feasible*, as indeed it was: But that they abhorred; and lest he should have made bold (without their Allowance) to attempt it, they prevented the same by presently ordering all the Horse to cross *Sterlin-Bridge*, and to quarter on the North-side of *Forth*, from the Castle of *Down* to *Brunt-Island*; where there was betwixt their Van and the Rear twenty eight Miles: Yet in this wide Quarter, so were they divided by General *Lanrick* and his Committee's Order, that a greater Burthen thereof by far was put upon the Lordship of *Alloway*, than any other Place; for there remained there for the space of seventeen Days *Robin Lesley's* Regiment, together with another that belonged to *Monroe's* Command, and utterly destroyed both the Corn and Cattle of that Lordship.

The Loyalty of the House of *Mar* procured to themselves that Complement, even from those who professed to be acting for the King, be-

fides the many such Stroaks they had formerly gotten from the other Party.

And this by all Men was esteemed the more absurd, in regard that in the mean time the Lord *Ereskin* was actually employed in their Service, levying his People in *Mar* and *Garroch* for their Service and Aid. But the next Day's Work discovered some People so, that neither that nor any of their former Actings were any more wondered at.

For whereas it was expected by all, that something should have been attempted against the Enemy, instead thereof their Business was to nominate and dispatch Commissioners to *Woodside*, to treat for an Accommodation.

This was interpreted to be the Fruit of *Lee's* and *Hornbie's* Negotiation with the Western Army, when at first they were on their march towards *Edinburgh*.

And so, although when *Lanrick* and his Committee resolved to retire to *Sterlin*, they pretended it was to make good that Pass for the Forces they expected from the *North*, yet now People conceived the true Reason was, that they being in *Sterlin*, and the other Army at *Falkirk*, they might have a Commodious Opportunity for Treating: And therefore (that being the Thing projected) none thought it strange that they declined Fighting near *Edinburgh*; nor that they were dissatisfied at what *Monroe* had done at *Sterlin-Bridge*; and that they would by no means be consenting, that he should go to *Falkirk* the next Day, and fall upon them there.

Upon

Upon *Wednesday, September 13.* they commissioned to repair to *Woodside* for treating, the Earls of *Crawford Lindsey* and *Glencarn*, with two Colonels, *viz.* Colonel *Hamilton* of *Innerwick*, and Colonel *Home* : *Monroe* opposed it; but nevertheless it was carried by the Plurality of the Committee, and so they went away at 11 a Clock.

Yet none appeared that Day at *Woodside* from the Western Army; the reason whereof was said to be, that the Marquis of *Argile*, having that Morning come up to them, told them of *Monroe's* Carriage at *Sterlin-Bridge*, and they not knowing but that *Lanrick* and the rest of the Lords (with whom they were on Terms of Treating) might be accessary to it, esteemed it such a Breach, that they could not treat with them, until they cleared themselves thereof: Whereupon the Treaters sent a Message to them from *Woodside*, whereby they vindicated themselves in reference to that Emergent, and desired that next Day they might find some of their Number there, and so for that Night returned to *Sterlin*.

Next Day being the 14th they went again to *Woodside*, and from the other Army there came to treat with them, the Earl of *Cassels*, Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Mr. *Robert Barclay* Burges of *Irwin*, and some Ministers, *viz.* Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Mr. *Rob. Blair*, Mr. *James Guthrie*, and Mr. *James Nesmith*.

They remained all together that Night, and next Day concluded the Treaty on these Terms, *viz.*

The Hamiltonian Side (referring all Matters Civil to a Parliament, which was to be called

before Jan. 10. and Ecclesiastical to an Assembly) accepted this Assurance, That the other Side should neither harm them, nor intice others to harm them, or any that adhered to them; and upon these Terms both the Armies, with all the Garisons in the Kingdom to be disbanded against the 29th of that Month, or at farthest before Octob. 5. And all Prisoners which had been taken at Home, to be enlarged. But nothing at all mentioned about Prisoners taken in England, yea, nor concerning the King, who was then a close Prisoner in the Isle of Wight.

The Earls of *Crawford*, *Lindsey*, and *Glen-carn*, with those two Colonels, having at their return shewn to *Lanrick* and his Committee, the Success and Conclusion of their Treaty, *Monroe* was so highly displeased therewith, that could he have gotten Assistance, it was thought, he would (without those Lords) have kept up the Army. But therein they had prevented him in such sort, that when he tempted the Officers of the Army to it, he could find no Adherents, Col. *Dalyel* and Capt. *James Calbrath* being excepted, who were willing to have taken their Hazard with him, all the rest, as well those whom he had brought from *Ireland*, as the others who were under *Lanrick's* Command, flinched from him, and so he was forced to submit.

Thus the Treaty held good, and pursuant thereto, upon Sept. 20. the Marquis of *Argile's* Men (who had been Prisoners in *Sterlin*) were discharged. *Mac Donoehy Inneraw* came thither and led them away.

And

And upon the 19th their Army at *Sterlin* disbanded, without offering any Wrong to the Town, but with fearful Exclamations against the Hamiltonians.

Monroe at his going out had News from *Ireland*, that *Glencarn's* Regiment in *Carricfergus* had betray'd that Garison to Colonel *Monk*; whereupon at *St. Ninian's Kirk*, he made a Speech to his Army, in relation to his Intelligence, and then permitted such as were willing, to disband; and for the rest that chose yet to adhere to him, offered to lead them over to *Ireland*, and try what Fortune they could make there.

But being come to *Glasgow*, he learned more fully, that the Scots had lost all in *Ireland*, and that Old *Monroe* was sent Prisoner to *London*; whereupon he disbanded the rest, and himself returned a private Man to *Edinburgh*, from whence shortly after he stept over into *Holland*.

The Western Army was also disbanded (according to the Treaty) at the appointed Day, and went Home to reap their Corn.

But the Marquis of *Argile*, the Chancellor, with the Earls of *Cassels* and *Eglinton* and others returned to *Edinburgh*, and there sat down under the Notion of the *Committee of Estates*; which they might the better do, Duke *Hamilton* in the late Parliament having nominated them Members of that Committee; notwithstanding that even at that time they did by their Dissents and Protestations oppose the Proceedings of the Parliament.

This new Committee left nothing undone to establish the Power in their own Hands, and concluded the Meeting of a Parliament to be upon Jan. 4.

By this time *Cromwel* and *Lambert* with their Army, were come Northward to suppress *Sir Thomas Tilnsley* and other English, who were yet in Arms.

And that being done, they advanced to the Scots Borders, and not having *Berwick* and *Carlisle* delivered to them, they kept their Head-Quarters at *Mordington*.

Whereupon the Marquis of *Argile*, and with him the Lord *Elcho* and *Sir Charles Ereskin*, went thither to salute them; and the Complement being pass'd, the Marquis caused (in the Committee's Name) *Lodovick Lesley* to deliver *Berwick* to them, and for the Regiment of Scots which he brought forth, he bestowed it upon *Hoborn*, to be sent to *Sterlin*, whereof he was made Governour.

Then the Marquis conducted *Cromwel* and *Lambert* to *Edinburgh*, with their Army, where they kept their Head-Quarters at the Lady *Home's* House in the *Cannon-gate*.

Upon their arrival, the Committee of Estates adjourned until their removal again.

As also there was a Proclamation at the *Cross* of *Edinburgh*, commanding all that had been in the Engagement, to depart the Town.

Whereupon *Crawford Lindsey* retired to *Fife*; and *Glencarn* being already at Home in the *West*, *Lanrick*, after some Days stay at *Kinnoul*, (which was for dispatching *James Moubray* with Letters to the Prince) went towards him, and there

there remained, until the Marquis of *Argile* had leisure to come Home; after which (crossing the River of *Clyde* quietly) the Marquis from *Rosneth* met him at *Cardross*, and there they conferred together at large.

This was not so privately carried, but that the Rumour of it had spread throughout the Land, before themselves returned to *Edinburgh*, which notwithstanding was as soon as they could.

While *Cromwel* remained in the *Cannon-Gate*, those that haunted him most, were, (besides the Marquis of *Argile*) *Loudon* the Chancellor, the Earl of *Lothian*, the Lord *Arbuthnot*, *Elcho*, and *Burleigh*; and of Ministers, Mr. *David Dick*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, and Mr. *James Guthry*.

What passed among them came not to be known infallibly; but it was talked very loud, That he did communicate to them his Design in reference to the King, and had their Assent thereto.

His removal was the more hastned, by reason of an Account he received of a Treaty begun betwixt the King and Parliament in his Absence.

Whereupon having caused the Committee-Men to send an Order to Sir *William Levingston* Governour of *Carlisle* to surrender the same to his Delegates, (which was obeyed) he left *Lambert* with a Party behind him, to stay for some time, until the Argilian Faction were well seated in their Power, and afterwards to follow up,

And

And immediately himself with his Army marched away, that he might be there in time to crush the Treaty, before it came any length: Yet did not part until he had appointed some of his Friends here to be sent after him, to be concurring upon the Account of this Nation.

Mr. *Robert Blair* and Sir *John Cheisley* were presently dispatched away, (who went under the Notion of *Church-Men*) but for other Commissioners, they could not be sent untill the Committee of Estates should meet to elect them.

Shortly after *Lambert* translated his Quarters to *Seaton*, and from thence (with the Allowance of the Marquis and the rest) retired homewards.

Upon *November 14.* came to *Sterlin* that Committee, which the General Assembly had appointed, to depose Ministers in the Presbyteries of *Sterlin* and *Dumblain*, for their Maligancy: Who thrust out Mr. *Henry Guthry* and Mr. *John Allen*, Ministers of the Town of *Sterlin*, with two in the Presbyteries of *Dumblain*, viz. Mr. *Henry Shaw* and Mr. *Andrew Jeffery*; and for the rest of both Presbyteries they spared them at that time, until they might have the General Assembly's Allowance to that which was done. But returning afterwards they made a fearful Deprivation amongst them.

By this time came Letters from Sir *John Cheisley* and Mr. *Robert Blair*, shewing that the Treaty went on, wishing therefore that our Commissioners might be hastned up,

Where-

Whereupon the Committee of Estates assembled upon *Thursday, November 28.* and elected to go up and join with *Cheifley and Blair*, the Earl of *Lothian* and *William Gledinnes* Burgeſs of *Kirkubry*.

When the Royalists heard throughout the Land, that thoſe were the Men, they began to pray, *God ſave the King.*

And ſhortly after their arrival there, *Cromwel* began to ſhew himſelf for cruſhing of the Treaty; drew up his Army towards *London*, and ſent in a Remonſtrance to the Parliament, ſhewing his Diſallowance of the Treaty, and craving Juſtice (as he called it) to be done upon the King; and that the Prince and Duke of *York* ſhould be ſummoned to appear before the Parliament at a certain Day, to hear themſelves declared incapable of any Place or Government in *England*.

Notwithſtanding this, the Parliament did upon the 5th Day of *December*, conclude upon Two Votes, *viz.*

1. That the Parliament had no Hand in taking the King from *Hampton-Court*, to make him Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*.

2. That the King's Conceſſions in that Treaty were good Grounds for a ſafe and laſting Peace.

There were in the Houſe but Forty Six Diſſenting Voices, who nevertheleſs carried Matters as follows,

Crom-

Cromwel being advertised by the Dissenters, brought presently his Army to *Westminster*, assaulting the Parliament, and imprisoning such of the Members as he could apprehend, the rest escaped by Flight, so that none remained to make up the Parliament, but those Forty Six Dissenters.

After this *Cromwel* sent Colonel *Evers* to bring over the King from the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst-Castle*, from whence he was brought by *Winchester* to *Windsor*, (where Duke *Hamilton* lay in Prison at that time) and from *Windsor* to *St. James's*, in order to his Tryal.

1649.

THE Parliament of *Scotland* sat down at *Edinburgh* upon *January* 4. and Commissioners from Shires and Burghs met numerously: For albeit the most part throughout the Land were cordially for the King, yet there wanted not in every Place Sycophants enough, who were ready to catch Employments.

But of all the Scotch Nobility, there were only Fourteen present at that Parliament, *viz.* the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earls of *Southerland*, *Cassels*, *Egtinton*, *Bacclough*, *Dalhousie*, and *Leven*; and of Lords, *Arbuthnot*, *Balmerinoch*, *Couper*, *Burleigh*, *Torpichen*, and *Carkcross*.

Thereby the Weakness of the Argilian Faction came to be perfectly understood, which made the greater Outcry against them, who
having

having then a Puissant Army at command, did submit to them at *Sterlin*.

The Parliament kept a Fast upon the 10th of *January*, at which time *Mr. Robert Douglas* and *Mr. James Guthrie* preached to them, and had Thanks given them.

The Purport tended to the purging of Judicatories, and therefore the next Day it was appointed, that a Committee of Parliament-Men should meet with a Committee of the Church, to consider thereof.

Whereof the Result was,

That Malignants were ranked in Four Classes;
1. Of those Secluded from Publick Places, during Life. The 2d for ten Years. The 3d for five Years. And the 4th until the next Sessions of Parliament.

Whereupon followed the cashireing of so many Lords of the Session as were tainted with the Crime of *Loyalty*; and in their rooms weer substituted such Men as were furious Asserters of their Way, viz. *Sesnock*, *Brodie*, *Sir James Hope*, *Mr. Alexander Pearson*, *Mr. George Wenrome*, *Mr. Robert Bruce*, *Mr. Robert Mac Gill*, and *Sir William Scot* formerly a Clerk in the House.

In the mean time did those sweet Commissioners at *London* write down to the Parliament, how the King being Prisoner at *St. James*, they were so far advanced against him, that a Committee was already appointed, (whereof Twenty to make a *Quorum*) to proceed in his Tryal.

Their Commission was dated *January 2.* and was to endure until *February 2.* by which time
it

it was expected he would be dispatched; and therefore they desired farther Instructions how they should behave themselves in the Business.

The Parliament drew up divers Instructions, and sent them, among which there were Two most Material and home to the Point.

One was, That they should not debate the Question, Whether they might take the King's Life from him or not, but only labour for a Delay.

And the other was, That they should in no Case speak or do any thing that might be the Occasion of a National Quarrel.

And the next News was concerning his Majesty's Arraignment; how being several times brought from St. *James's*, to appear before that Committee in the *Painted-Chamber* at *Westminster*, he did still except against the Authority of the Court.

Yet upon the 27th Day of *January* was he sentenced by them, To be upon *Tuesday, January* the 30th, beheaded before the Gate of *Whitehall*; which was accordingly performed.

And he being dead, his Faithful Cousin *James* Duke of *Lenox* had the Permission to convey his Royal Body to *Windsor* Chapel, where it was interred.

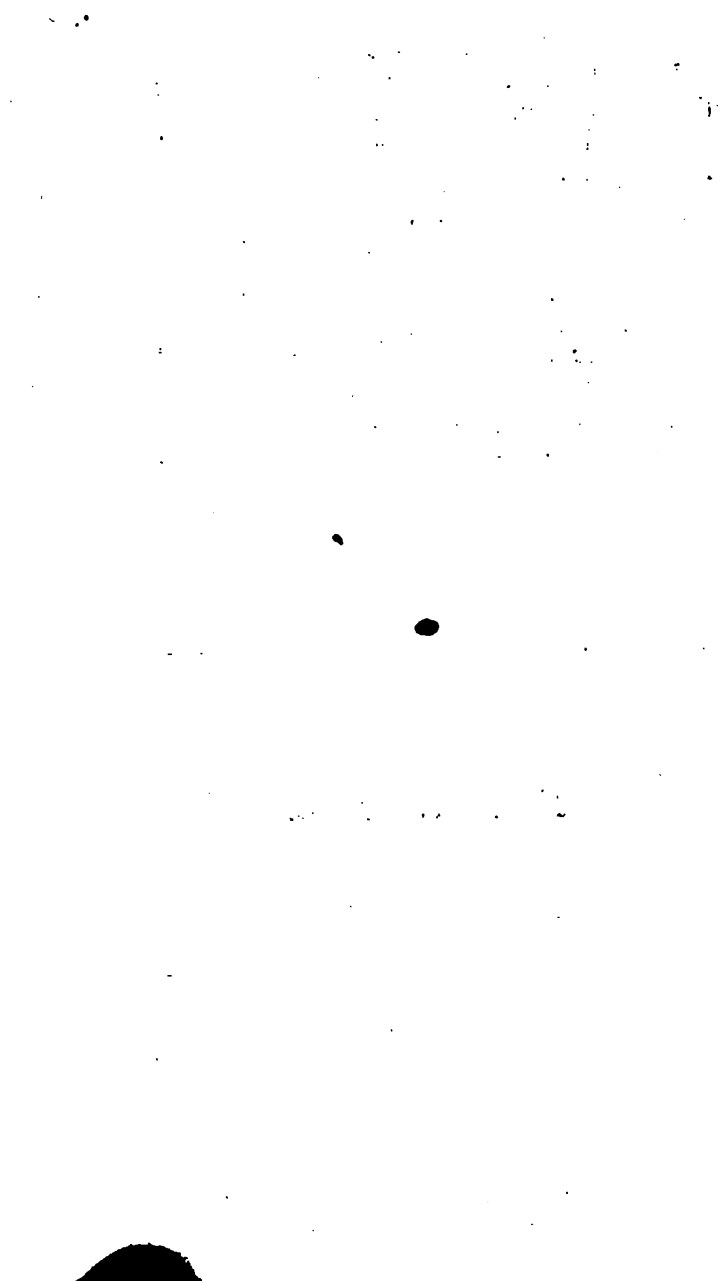
So ended the best of Princes, being cut off in the midst of his Age, by the Barbarous Hands of Unnatural Subjects.

Many

Many sad Epitaphs were made of him : But
that of the most Gallant *Montrofs*, was
esteemed so like the Author, that I shall
set it down.

*Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
My Grief to thy too rigid Fate,
I'd weep the World in such a Strain,
As it should deluge once again :
But since thy Case much rather cries
For Briareus Hands, than Argus Eyes,
I'll tune thy Elegies to Trumpet-sounds,
And write thy Epitaph in Blood and Wounds.*

F I N I S.



1. The first group of people who are interested in the study of the history of the world are the historians. They are the people who write the books that tell us about the past. They are the people who try to understand what happened in the past and why it happened. They are the people who try to find out what the world was like in the past and what it is like now.

2.

3.

